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Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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9 MAY 1986

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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CUBAN STATISTICS DELEGATION VISITS HUILA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 1 Feb 86 p 2

[Text] The vice president of the State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Cuba, Jose Gonzales Trugillo, who has been in our country since the beginning of this week at the invitation of the Ministry of Planning to carry out a diagnostic study in the statistical field, paid a visit to the province of Huila. In this province, Jose Trugillo, who was accompanied by the Angolan deputy minister of planning, Gustavo de Figueiredo, visited the provincial statistical office in Huila, where he learned about its operations and the work it is doing.

The Cuban delegation later proceeded to the Ngola Brewery, a production unit affiliated with the National Beer Enterprise (CERVAL), which can produce 12 million liters of beer per year. It employs an estimated 400 workers.

According to the schedule for the tour ending today, the Cuban delegation will visit the agrarian school complex in Tchivinguiro and the F. Engels Middle Institute in Lubango, which offers courses in finance and statistics, as well as other pre-university courses in the fields of biology, social science and physics. The delegation will audit a statistics class there.

The Cuban delegation has been accompanied during its entire tour of this province by Jose Sumbo, deputy Huila provincial commissioner for the economic and productive sector, in addition to party and government officials and Cuban internationalists.

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CSO:3442/170

INTERNAL TRADE STATUS, PROBLEMS IN UIGE DESCRIBED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by Leonel Liborio]

[Text] The UIJEMEX, the local enterprise under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Trade, with headquarters in the city of Uige, has the responsibility for the export and import of various products for this province.

The UIJEMEX, the second enterprise of this sort to be established in this country, after the CABIMEX, which has its headquarters in Cabinda, has as its main function in this initial stage the shipment of all of the coffee in the province to the coast. The stocks on hand now, estimated at 46,530,532 kilograms, date back to 1978 and 1979.

In a recent interview granted both to JORNAL DE ANGOLA and Angolan Peoples Television in Uige, the director of the enterprise, Garcia Tomas, said, after emphasizing that the UIJEMEX, in this embryonic stage, already has eight middle-level technicians and a reasonable flow of drivers and goods, that "it is our intention in this first phase to develop exports, but we must also import to satisfy our producers."

The UIJEMEX director further explained some misunderstood aspects of his enterprise, and when questioned by us, said that the Ministry of Internal Trade bodies have not succeeded in keeping up with coffee marketing, since "as a general rule, people look to the Ministry of Internal Trade to supply them."

Nor has the ENCODIPA been able to exercise control over coffee marketing, due to various difficulties encountered in the course of its work, and as a result of this "some people who are unhappy with the situation have begun to reduce their cultivation of coffee, replacing it with other crops such as cassava, peanuts and fruits," he said.

First Enterprise Activities

The UIJEMEX, which was established following an analysis undertaken by the party and the government in the province, has already begun to take its first steps.

JORNAL DE ANGOLA is in a position to state that there are now 42 vehicles of various types, 45 tractors and 28 drivers. According to its director, the enterprise also has 60 containers at the Luanda Commercial Port filled with various products, including radios, clothing, bicycles, motorcycles, beer, etc., for shipment to the peasants. "We import these and other products directly," Garcia Tomas went on to say.

It is the intention of the UIJEMEX to establish various branches in Maquela do Zombo, Negaje and Songo. They will be directly involved with the processing, purchasing and transportation of coffee. The UIJEMEX director went into greater detail, explaining that the Maquela de Zombo branch will also have the responsibility for frontier trade with the neighboring Republic of Zaire.

The building of a road linking Uige with Ambriz via Toto is also among the enterprise projects. The purpose of this project is to be able to make use of the PETROMAR structures for shipping coffee to Ambriz.

"On the other hand," Garcia Tomas went on to say, "we must at present use the road linking us with Luanda Quitexe, and the facilities we have are not adequate. I think that our government will help us in this connection by providing us with facilities, and if we can get the coffee to the seat of the province, we will succeed in getting it to Luanda as well."

Garcia Tomas termed the shortage of fish and salt in the rural sector the main problem affecting the UIJEMEX currently. "The important thing for the peasant is that fish and salt be made available to him there. We will succeed in this, because a contact has already been made through the provincial commissioner with his counterpart in Namibe in this connection." He went on to say that "we have also communicated with the Ministry of Fisheries through the national director of the fishing industry with a view to obtaining salt and fish from the port of Amboim. This did not work out because production there is low too. But we have hopes in this regard."

Coffee Processing Still Inefficient

There are coffee-hulling plants in the province of Uige which were inherited from the colonials, but the majority of them are obsolete. On this subject, the director of the UIJEMEX explained that contact has been made with a foreign enterprise to obtain aid in repairing the machinery.

Finally, yet another enterprise has been created for the purpose of providing increasing aid in the national reconstruction of this country which is subject to constant attack. Forward, peasants, sacks in hand, baskets shouldered and machetes sharpened, to clear the fields in the construction of socialism! We wish all those employed by UIJEMEX good work. Uncounted successes are expected of this enterprise, and we will see them as time goes on.

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MINISTER DISCUSSES INTERNAL TRADE PLAN

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Feb 86 p 12

[Text] Benguela--Minister of Internal Trade Adriano dos Santos Junior said during a press conference that a program to reorganize the economic and administrative structures is being carried out in this sector.

Adriano Junior, who stayed in Benguela 4 days, went on to say that the implementation of this program is basically designed to reduce the marketing circuits and avoid the loss of products.

This Angolan government official noted that his sector is doing rather positive and laudable work, particularly in the province of Benguela, although problems involving lack of discipline, theft and misappropriation of goods still exist, such that more efficient organizational and control measures are needed.

One of the steps designed to ensure better control over goods in ports, airports and stores mentioned by the minister of internal trade would call for more assistance from the economic police and other pertinent inspection bodies.

On the other hand, Adriano Junior emphasized that his ministry is experiencing serious problems in transportation and due to the limited ability of the accountants, making the rapid shipment of products to the zones which are difficult of access, in particular, more difficult.

This government official further said that as soon as the second stage of the new supply system is under way, the so-called parallel stores will be opened. They will serve the purpose, among others, of combating speculation. The main characteristic of these stores will be the sale of products at prices competitive with those on the present parallel markets.

In Benguela, Adriano dos Santos Junior met with the executive commission of the CPP, visited service units and other internal trade bodies, and also participated in a workers meeting in the city of Benguela.

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GDR COOPERATION IN TRANSPORT SECTOR, SOCIALIST EMULATION REPORTED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Feb 86 p 12

[Text] Namibe--The budget plan for the construction by the Namibe Provincial Transportation Office of a plant to produce trucks of the IFA brand, provided by the GDR, comes to more than a million kwanzas, the ANGOP has learned from the provincial planning office director, Jose Domingos Sapalo.

According to this official, this plant, to be built shortly, is the result of contracts signed by the Ministry of Transport with the GDR, and all that is needed is for the trucks and German technicians to arrive.

The training of Angolan technicians, mainly affecting the Provincial Transport Office, as well as the establishment of various workshops in a number of the municipalities in the province, will be the responsibility of the German technicians.

Jose Domingos Sapalo said further that the Provincial Transportation Office has allocated the sum of 61,800,000 kwanzas to the Public Transport Enterprise (ETP) for the construction of a bus terminal.

Jose Domingos said that the multiple difficulties being experienced by the people in the public transport sector in the province of Namibe, where there is currently a crisis mainly in travel between municipalities, will be minimized following the building of a terminal.

Again in connection with the ambitious plan of the Provincial Transportation Office, this official said that the port enterprise is to be revitalized with the purchase of dump trucks and hoists with a large tonnage capacity for use in loading and unloading goods.

The port enterprise will also benefit from the building of a warehouse for the storage of goods, and the area for the docking of vessels will also undergo repairs.

Socialist Emulation

On the other hand, more than 33 enterprises in various branches of activity recently signed a socialist emulation pledge for this year with the provincial secretary of the National Union Workers of Angola (UNTA) in this city.

The pledge calls for fulfillment of the production and labor discipline plans, rationalization of the labor force, voluntary efforts and a hygiene campaign.

It also provides for the delayed payment of workers' wages as well as execution of the austerity policy, thus implementing the national campaign pledge with a view to greater enterprise productivity with lower costs.

Sources close to the provincial secretariat of the UNTA have reported that during the preceding campaign, in which 75 enterprises participated, the majority of them fulfilled their socialist emulation pledges.

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ECONOMIC, POLITICAL SITUATION ANALYZED

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 23 Mar 86 p 6

[Text] In Angola, the first 2 weeks of March were marked by a considerable worsening not only of the military situation but even more acutely of the economic situation.

In military matters, besides the explosive UNITA attack on the Andrada diamond-mining facilities in Lunda and the capture of over 150 foreign technicians and their families, together with complete destruction of diamond storage and grading facilities, there were UNITA attacks on Porto Amboim, to the south of Luanda; Caconda, in the Lubango district; Uige and Camabate¹a, in the Congo district; and Calomboloca, a small locality near Catete, about 65 km from Luanda.

Travelers recently returned from Luanda say it is expected that, after the "heavy rainfall" that usually lasts from February to the middle of April, UNITA will unleash a number of heavy attacks on locations and facilities vital to the Luanda government, with the aid of American military supplies it is receiving through Zaire.

In economic matters, the UNITA attack on Andrada, where Diamang [Angola Diamond Company] stores the output of its mining operations in Lunda, represented the loss of over 1 million carats of precious gems, worth many millions of dollars, and the dismantling of the respective facilities, restoration of which may take many months, in addition to the dispersion of technical personnel.

The drop in oil prices, which has accelerated in recent weeks, will contribute even more to worsening Angola's economic situation, dependent upon "petrodollars" for over 90 percent of the foreign exchange it needs.

Economic Restrictions

As a result, Angolan authorities have informed importers of the "temporary" suspension of import licenses [BRIs], which can be authorized only if importers obtain credit abroad or have their own foreign exchange. All outstanding BRIs not utilized as of last February 28 are to be collected by the National Bank of Angola and are not likely to be revalidated.

Another measure indicative of the serious lack of foreign exchange is cancellation of the sale of airline tickets for residents paid in the local currency (Kwanzas); since the first week of March only those able to pay their fare in foreign exchange or with tickets purchased outside of Angola may travel outside the country.

Remittances abroad by foreign consultants have been, or within a few days will be, suspended likewise, such as any remittances in foreign exchange for purposes of traveling abroad.

A proposed decree is likely to be discussed later this month that would drastically restrict the number of foreign technical advisers. It is reported that this proposal is for an immediate reduction of one-third of the current number of advisers, with equal reductions in the 2 following years, in order to eliminate foreign advisers within a period of 3 years.

In compensation, the Luanda government intends to substantially increase the number of Angolan "scholarships" abroad, in order to receive sufficient technical and professional training to put an end to the system of foreign advisers.

These measures, however, do not include the Soviet and Cuban technical and military "advisers," and possibly not those of other socialist countries willing to pay the total costs of their "cooperants."

Information gathered from persons returning from Angola in recent days reveals that nervousness and unease continue to increase, and that the silence maintained by the Luanda authorities about the fate of scores of foreign advisers captured by UNITA, coupled with FAPLA's [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] inaction or defensive inadequacy, is likely to increase this state of disquiet even more.

Many persons returning from Luanda report that in the Angolan capital there is open talk about the waste of foreign exchange, especially in recent months, in conducting grandiose propaganda campaigns abroad, such as the "summit meeting" of the Organization of African Unity, the invitations to scores of foreign delegations for the Special MPLA Congress, etc., which cost the Angolan treasury many tens of millions of dollars, not only in these activities but also in the "cosmetic" activities surrounding them.

For these events scores of luxury-model vehicles were imported, and flimsy but expensive facilities were erected, in addition to the sumptuous expenditures that oil revenues could have paid for, if they did not have to pay nearly all the high costs of the war effort, which everything indicates will be increased greatly in the coming months--all the more so because the USSR is stepping up war materiel supplies to cope with the expected UNITA offensive, while FAPLA continues to furnish the "cannon fodder."

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PAPER ESTIMATES LOSSES IN OIL INDUSTRY

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 27 Mar 86 p 27

[Text] Angola's revenue from direct sales of its oil production will fall by \$1.1 billion in 1986. But the estimate might be increased unless the current downtrend in world oil prices is arrested.

The figure of \$1.1 billion was obtained as a result of the price of \$11.50 per barrel that Angola is now offering in order to sell its oil. But there are predictions according to which Angola will have to lower its prices to below \$10.

Of its total current oil output (300,000 barrels daily from the Malongo and Takula fields off the Cabinda shore), Angola sells a little more than half directly. The rest is sold by the Gulf Oil Company, the American firm associated with Angola in Cabinda.

The prices of Malongo and Takula crude are set at \$2 per barrel less than that of North Sea "Brent." The major buyers of Cabinda oil include Spain, Germany, Brazil, Japan, the United States and Great Britain.

With the remaining strategic sectors of its economy at a complete standstill or underutilized (in the cases of diamonds, agriculture, fisheries and mining), Angola depends to a great extent (98 percent) on oil revenues. The conjunction of this situation with the loss of oil revenue is causing alarm in Luanda. Some drastic measures have been taken and others are being studied.

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CSO: 3442/189

UNITA DENIES THREATENING AMBASSADOR IN LISBON

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 28 Mar 86 p 7

[Text] Lucas Gato, UNITA's representative to Europe, denied Wednesday in Paris that his movement has made threats to the Angolan ambassador accredited in Lisbon.

"The assertion circulated by ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY] is nothing more than pure invention intended to conceal the real problem for the People's Republic of Angola, which is the lack of support from the Angolan community residing in Portugal," said the UNITA communique, originating in Paris and signed by the representative to Europe, Lucas Paulo Gato.

"UNITA's physical struggle against the totalitarian MPLA regime is being waged in Angola and this has been confirmed by the most varied foreign observers," the communique continues.

The message goes on to say that "UNITA has nothing to do with any isolated positions taken by individuals hostile to the MPLA, whose ideas and actions are their own responsibility."

The Angolan ambassador accredited in Lisbon met Tuesday with Portugal's foreign affairs minister, to whom he complained about UNITA's activities in Portugal and to whom he presented documentation relative to propaganda of Savimbi's movement that he claims was being circulated in Portugal.

In another communique, UNITA says that another offensive by government forces will take place soon against "the territory liberated by UNITA."

The communique reports the arrival in the city of Menongue, where there is a large concentration of government troops and a big air base, of an important Cuban military delegation, headed by Cuban Major Gen Pedro Garcia, generals Alberto Ramirez and Manuel Reyes and colonels Hilario Lopez, Geraldo Marquez and Miguel Ferreiro.

"UNITA believes that only dialogue between the patriotic forces of Angola can put an end to the conflict and prevent escalation of the war with direct involvement of the superpowers," says the communique from Savimbi's movement.

"As long as the MPLA believes in the military option, UNITA will have no alternative but to prepare itself also, the MPLA knowing that UNITA's defensive capability in 1986 is much superior to that of 1985," the communique concludes.

BRIEFS

SUGAR IMPORTED FROM CUBA--Angola has been importing about 70,000 tons of sugar from Cuba annually, in order to make up for the enormous deficit in its own production. The sugar sector in Angola, which operates with Cuba's technical assistance, currently has modest revenues. The percentage of sugar extracted from cane fell from 9.5 percent in 1974 to 3.5 percent at present. Regardless of the market reasons that result in importation of Cuban sugar, sugar trade is also influenced by political reasons. Before the nation's independence, domestic production completely met the needs of the domestic market and also created a surplus (12,000 tons in 1974) that was exported to Portugal. [Text] [Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 27 Mar 86 p 27] 8834

CSO: 3442/189

REPORT ON OJM SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Opening Ceremonies

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Mar 86 p 1

[Text] Some 650 delegates from all over the country have been taking part since yesterday in the Second National Conference of the OJM [Organization of Mozambican Youth], the first to be held in the last 8 years, since the organization was founded. The conference is the culmination of an exhaustive, important and ennobling effort in preparation for the event, which was defined as a priority by the Fourth FRELIMO Party Congress and for which many young people lost their lives at the murderous hands of the armed bandits. From yesterday until next Saturday, the eyes of the Mozambican nation will be turned to the Hall of the Fourth Congress. It is with great expectation that the results of this conference are awaited, in the certainty that the youth are the future of our country.

President Samora Machel said that the primary task of the Second National Conference of the Organization of Mozambican Youth, which began yesterday in Maputo, is to take an accounting of the activity conducted during the past 8 years by the young people and their organization. At the same time, specific proposals should be drafted for increasing the participation by the youth in the defense of the country and in the process of the revolutionary transformation of the society, to build a country of peace, happiness, well-being and progress.

Through Zacarias Kupele, secretary general of the OJM, the young people had asked that the voice of youth be heard; in response, President Machel proposed an open and frank dialogue with the national delegates to the second conference. He declared that we must hear what the young people have to say about the present and future of our young nation, and this debate presupposes a discussion of the crisis which the Mozambican society is undergoing, examining the problems, their causes and their consequences and indicating the paths to follow to solve the great national problems.

Treating the national delegates as dear friends, President Samora Machel again enunciated the political and ideological principles which govern the building of socialism in the Mozambican nation. He gave a precise and clear definition of the enemy and its forms of action. He denounced the imperialists' schemes and the international conspiracy to recolonize our country and he pointed

to racist South Africa as the operational tool in the war of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique.

It was 1115 hours when President Samora Machel, in the name of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee, formally pronounced the opening of proceedings of the Second National Conference of the OJM. The chief of state had spoken for 45 minutes, urging the young people to assume, as in the past, their historical vanguard role in the defense of the nation's independence and sovereignty, in national reconstruction and in the building of socialism.

At 1010 hours, President Machel had entered the hall of the "Palace of the Fourth Congress." Wearing the dress uniform of marshal of the republic, a cream-colored uniform trimmed in red, with various medals adorning the left side of his chest, President Machel was greeted enthusiastically by the young people.

At the speakers' table, to the right of the chief of state, was Joaquim Chissano, member of the Political Bureau, and to his left was Zacarias Kupela, secretary general of the OJM. The other places at the table were filled by Armando Guebuza, Oscar Monteiro, Augusto Macamo and Fernando Ganhao, to the president's left, and Jorge Rebelo, Jacinto Veloso, Graca Machel and Tome Eduardo, to his right.

Occupying the honorary rostrum behind the presiding table were members of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee, the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers, as well as directors of various mass democratic organizations. Seated to their rear were the foreign delegations invited to participate in this conference. The floor of the hall was filled with young people, dressed in their red shirts and dark blue pants or skirts. In the first balcony were representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Maputo and the second balcony held numerous Mozambican invited guests.

The OJM band entered the hall, accompanied by several dozen young people, some carrying red flags and others bearing banners with the slogans: "Samora, friend, the people are with you," "Youth, the salvation of the nation" and "We will be the soldiers of the 25 September."

At 1017 hours, Zacarias Kupela made some introductory remarks and 7 minutes later he invited President Samora Machel, the first member of the OJM, to deliver the opening address. The president recalled the glorious traditions of Mozambican youth, from the creation of FRELIMO and the armed struggle for national liberation to the conquest of independence, the struggle against Rhodesian aggression and the battle against armed banditry.

When he had concluded the official opening address, President Machel was presented with several gifts. After a short interval, the president visited the national exhibit of plastic arts, crafts and photography, on display inside the building. Later, the chief of state went outside to the street in front of the building, where more than 7,000 people were waiting for his appearance.

The city had come alive very early yesterday morning, with unusual movement. On all the streets and corners in the city were seen hundreds and hundreds of young people, most of whom were dressed in the clothing which identifies the OJM: red shirt and dark blue pants or skirt. Groups of young people of all ages emerged from all quarters of the capital; moving along the public roads, impeding automobile traffic, they headed toward the Hall of the Fourth Congress.

There were young people with sign boards, with drums, cornets and guitars; young people singing and dancing; young people who joined the musical band of the Mozambican People's Police, which played various pieces in its repertoire. Then the OJM band appeared. Red banners and bandannas could be seen on all sides and here and there one heard singing--songs from Cabo Delgado or from Manica. The TPU group was there with its "makwayela," and we could not have done without the Timbilas, with their virile and impressive dances, like the warriors of long ago. It was a great folk festival.

Highlights of Machel's Opening Speech

Maputo NCTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Mar 86 p 1

[Report on President Samora Machel's opening address to the Second National OJM Conference, in Maputo on 18 March 1986]

[Text] President Samora Machel said the basic issue to be examined in this Second National OJM Conference should be the response to the question: What are the tasks of youth in the current phase? Delivering the opening address to the conference, the number one member of the OJM said: "The response to this question requires an analysis of the present moment, of this difficult period in our history. Principally, we must know who we are and what we want to be." He voiced his conviction that the Mozambican people would be victorious in their struggle during this "difficult and sensitive phase of their history."

In a speech that was often interrupted by the young people's applause and chanting, President Machel began by congratulating all the Mozambican youth "for the organization of this event of reflection and fellowship which we are going to experience together." He stressed that the meeting was the culmination of a long process of preparation which involved thousands and thousands of young people throughout the country and which had met with great obstacles.

He said that recent months had borne out the prediction that the enemy would make a target of the conference, murdering young people who were engaged in the preparations. He asked all those present to observe a minute of silence in memory of all those who had died at the hands of the criminals as they went about the task of defending the country and ensuring the well-being and prosperity of all our people.

Speaking of the preparations for the conference, the president noted that all the Mozambicans were keeping abreast of the activities. "Workers, peasants, workers in the various branches of activity, intellectuals, students, young people and old people, veterans and young scouts, men and women, all the Mozambican people, see the Organization of Mozambican Youth as the powerful force which opens the way to our future," he declared, adding: "So we say, this is a moment for celebration, it is a moment of joy."

The president welcomed all the national delegates and foreign guests, particularly the youth organizations from friendly countries.

At another point in his address, the chief of state spoke of the principal question which should be answered in the conference, i.e., "What are the tasks of young people in this current phase?"

"We have always struggled and we are struggling now for a cause, for specific goals which unite us and which motivate us," Machel said, adding that these goals, clear goals, are to be a free country, to be sovereign, to have equality of men and women in rights and duties, to develop our capabilities and the potential of the country, to produce the material and spiritual welfare which we need, and to live in peace.

After noting that some of these goals had already been achieved and that we must continue to struggle to achieve others, the president declared: "The great conquests which we have achieved, the important steps which we have taken on the path of development, the society of justice and equality which is affirmed in our country; in sum, our program for the building of socialism in Mozambique: these are what motivates the imperialist aggression--these are the imperialists' targets."

He said further: "We have brought an alternative civilization to a zone where colonialism had ruled, in its most barbarous and dehumanizing forms. We have made the values of liberty and justice flower [in a zone] where the principal bulwark of imperialism--South Africa--persists in imposing its regime of oppression, racism and exploitation."

The president added that imperialism and [the] "apartheid" [regime] want to destroy us because this would mean "destroying a threat which cannot be measured in bombs, in tanks, in missiles, in military capacity." Our weapons, he declared, "those which Pretoria and the imperialist circles fear the most, are represented in this hall." They are national unity; our way of getting along, of discussing and resolving our problems; our democracy; a nation which is rooted in the popular traditions of struggle. "We are not a war threat; we are a peace threat."

Observing that the war had taught us to identify the enemy correctly and that imperialism is not an abstraction but a system of domination of peoples, based on the exploitation of men by men, the chief of state declared that "the political changes which have occurred in our region in the last 2 decades have challenged the imperialist hegemony in our zone." He said that when Zimbabwe became independent, only racist South Africa remained as the bastion of imperialism in our zone.

The imperialists want to dominate Mozambique again. Since they have found no political means which they could use to this end, the imperialists have chosen the only course left to them: to destroy our independence. For this purpose, they have recruited the capitalists of the colonial era, the revanchist officers of the colonial army, the colonists who rose to the racist propaganda, the Mozambican agents of colonialism. "This is the basic composition of the armed hands," Samora Machel said.

The first base of these bandits was in Rhodesia and now they are operating out of South Africa and Lisbon.

At the same time, the imperialists are "using external economic aggression, primarily by means of the boycott and economic destabilization tactics."

The objective of the attacks, both armed and economic, is to add to our problems and to broaden the maneuvering room of the internal reactionaries, because "it is not enough to destroy our model of society; the imperialists must infiltrate their own model."

The chief of state declared that the speculation and the "schemes" are the "spearhead for the infiltration of that model." He pointed out that "the primary target of this offensive is represented in this hall--our youth." He recalled the words which he spoke at the first conference, when he said that "youth is the battlefield where the forces of revolution and reaction meet. Today, more than ever, this battle is raging."

The president added that our primary task at this moment is to defend the country and that young people are "the great army of our people, the guarantee of our victory."

He recalled that, in addition to meeting a statutory requirement, the second conference is being held by decision of the Fourth FRELIMO Party Congress. He added that the path which has been followed during the more than 8 years since the first conference should be analyzed now.

He said the second conference had two principal objectives; namely, to take an accounting of the last 8 years and to draft specific proposals to increase the participation by the young people in the defense of the country and in the process of revolutionary change in our country.

The chief of state also stressed the role which the young people have played in the building of a new society in Mozambique, recalling that "during the struggle for national liberation, the overwhelming majority of our combatants were young people" and that, even after independence, the young people continue to be the major group represented in the FPLM [Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique]. "It is important to study, to define and to implement specific actions and mechanisms so that the profound commitment of our youth will be matched by the best form of organization for their participation in the defense of the country," Samora Machel said, and then stressed the role which young people have played in the process of national reconstruction, in all sectors of activity.

At another point, he spoke of the complex problems of youth, problems which "reflect the complexity and diversity of our country." He added that youth should assume an important role in consolidating national unity and should consider ways of combating the enemy's tactics of ideological subversion.

The chief of state spoke of the participation of young Mozambicans in the defense of the integrity of Tanzania when that country was threatened by Idi Amin's Uganda, as well as their participation in the war for the liberation

of Zimbabwe. He added that the "OJM has been able to command respect in the international arena, thus lending prestige to our country and our people."

He voiced his conviction that the Mozambican people would be victorious in their struggle "in this difficult and sensitive phase of their history."

Air Force Chief Speaks

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Mar 86 p 1

[Report on address by General Antonio Hama Thai, Commander of the Air Force, to the OJM Conference in Maputo on 21 March 1986]

[Text] President Samora Machel declared yesterday that the Armed Forces are the combat force of Mozambican youth, in which dozens and dozens of young people, despite the difficulties, ensure the defense of the country, its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The chief of state was speaking to the Second National OJM Conference regarding the role which falls to the Armed Forces, as the mirror of society, as the source of skilled cadres for important sectors of national life and, particularly, as the foundation for national unity and the building of the nation.

"Today we are building a regular, modern Armed Forces, strong and capable of defending peace and socialism in our country. This task increasingly requires the active participation of Mozambican youth, workers, peasants, intellectuals and students," declared General Antonio Hama Thai, Commander of the Air Force, speaking to the young people in the name of the Ministry of National Defense.

It is noted that the young people, reiterating their readiness to defend the country, had asked for weapons and, principally, for officers and instructors to improve the quality of the training. "Give us the weapons to defend our factories and our homes," a delegate pleaded.

"The image of the army which we would like to build was presented in the hall of the Second National OJM Conference, when soldiers in camouflage, singing and grasping flowers in their fists, greeted the conference participants." It is the image of an army prepared and determined to liquidate the armed bandits--a basic concern which dominated the Second National OJM Conference.

"It is thanks to those who are serving in the trenches that we are here today," noted President Samora Machel, who spoke of the concern to foster the patriotism of the young people, to unify the nation and to eliminate divisionism in all its forms.

This point, which was mentioned in Gen Thai's address, brings up pertinent and particularly important questions. The Armed Forces have a formative and educational role.

"In the Armed Forces, ignorance is laid to rest. Tribalism and regionalism vanish. Superstition and obscurantism vanish. All this because war is a science; it is technology. The art of war is political, it is cultural," said the Air Force Commander, adding:

"An ignorant individual cannot make the best use of his weapon. An illiterate cannot pilot a plane or a ship; it takes an engineer. A soldier is informed about why he must kill and about what his target is. From the very first day he enters the barracks, he learns discipline, which contributes to his political and moral training."

Gen Hama Thai declared that young people from all over the country sleep in the same barracks, eat in the same mess hall, use the same bathrooms, march together and attack the bandit camps together.

"It is in the army that the nation, the country is born and flowers in the most real and concrete form," the Air Force Commander added; he mentioned how the Armed Forces contribute to the society, particularly the pilots who once manned military transport and combat planes and are now in command of the planes of the Mozambique Air Lines.

Another salient point--the need to foster patriotism among the young--was raised by Gen Hama Thai when he said that young people "have a responsibility to repay the debt of honor which we owe to those who lived, fought and died so that we could be what we are today."

"Entering the defense forces should not be seen as 'a passport to death,' as some people think. You can die without being in the Armed Forces. Death is everywhere, in any environment. But of all death, the most noble and sublime is to die for an ideal. It is to die defending the country," Gen Hama Thai declared. He added:

"The struggle to defend the country demands effort and immense sacrifice of us. Because of the determination and energy which the young people of the Mozambican Armed Forces bring to the battle for the total and complete eradication of the armed bandits from our country, we are certain that today, once again, we will defeat the enemy as always."

Machel on Various Issues

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Mar 86 pp 3-4

[Text of President Samora Machel's prepared remarks to the Second National OJM Conference, in Maputo on 22 March 1986; first paragraph is NOTICIAS introduction]

[Text] At the end of the discussion of the report of the OJM Coordinating Council on Saturday, President Samora Machel took the floor to add his contribution as the number one member of the organization. As he said before he began his remarks, the president was speaking not only to the delegates assembled in the Hall of the Fourth Congress, but to the entire nation. Following is the text of those remarks.

Dear friends,

In the course of this Second Conference of the Organization of Mozambican Youth, various questions, both general and specific, have been raised.

The contents of the report of the National Coordinating Council, the speeches and debates were rich and encouraging.

Once again, we focused on issues of concern to our society and particularly to Mozambican youth.

We have expressed our viewpoints frankly, honestly and openly and we have pointed to solutions to the problems that have been identified.

To summarize, we would like to offer some guidelines regarding the various questions which have been brought up and which were not answered during the debates.

The solution to certain questions will also require some work by the party leadership or in the Council of Ministers.

Let us begin with the specific issues in the report and conclude with some other basic questions.

Specific Questions

On the Education System

It is certain that the educational system does not yet assure all young people access to schooling. In any case, it is well to bear in mind that, despite this, today the educational system extends to all the national territory. In each communal village and even in the most remote localities, the peasant has a school for his child to attend.

Despite these great gains, however, it is not yet possible to guarantee that all children of school age will have access to an education. This is because the growth rate of the school age population is much higher than the rate of construction of new schools.

In this area, as in the material conditions of life in the orphanages and children's homes, we suffer from the limitations imposed on our economy by the natural disasters and the war.

In a clear demonstration of their murderous rage, their collusion with the obscurantist forces and their anti-national project, the armed bandits have been engaged in destroying our schools and killing our teachers. As a result of this criminal activity, about 30,000 children were unable to attend school during 1985.

Hence, in the next few years, we must not only work to rebuild these schools but also to build new schools to guarantee that more and more young people will have access to an education. This is a task into which we must throw all our effort and energy.

The rebuilding of schools in the rural areas, their expansion, the creation of new places for students--this is essential if we are to carry out our policy of democratizing education and of giving priority to the children of workers and peasants.

Teacher Shortage

During the colonial period, except for a small percentage in the primary schools, most of the teachers were foreign nationals. With the declaration of independence, there was a mass exodus of these teachers, which resulted in an almost total depletion of the teaching staff in our schools.

Hence, a huge effort was required to train teachers. Thanks to this effort, it has been possible not only to maintain admissions to our schools but to expand the school system.

Thus, through these 10 years of our independence, we have been able to train 23,619 teachers and to reduce our dependence on international assistance in this area to:

--only 3 percent, in the level from first to sixth grade;

--only 24 percent in the level from seventh to ninth grade;

--only 46 percent at the level of college preparatory education.

It is obvious that this effort to train teachers must be intensified and that we must train more and more teachers so that, on one hand, we can completely eliminate our dependence on international cooperation and, on the other hand, keep pace with the growth of the school-age population.

Moreover, we have to improve the quality of the training offered to our teachers, which, because of the urgency of the situation, had to be conducted at a very rapid pace. With this goal in mind, the Education Ministry has begun action both to offer refresher courses and advanced training for practicing teachers and to improve the quality of training for new teachers.

To this end, it is more necessary than ever to mobilize young people to enroll in teacher training courses. The OJM has a basic and determining role in this mobilization.

Proper Use of Trained Youth

There are other questions.

1. Young people with secondary school and university training frequently are not paid wages commensurate with their employment.

This should be corrected.

The approval of the Labor Law is the first step.

However, the problem cannot be solved by merely raising wages, because a general wage increase, without the corresponding increase in productivity, only leads to higher prices.

2. Professionals are working under dangerous conditions.

This is true of teachers, nurses, agricultural technicians, tractor operators, railway engineers, drivers and such, who are the armed bandits' favorite targets for assassination.

These workers deserve special attention from the state.

They run almost the same risks as the combatants do. Hence the government should examine two principal aspects:

--a) to guarantee means of self-defense ;

--b) to guarantee a system of social security which, albeit inadequate, in this phase would constitute some protection in case of permanent physical disability, or some assistance to [the victims'] families.

Among the measures which the state must take on behalf of the combatants who are victims of the invaders' and bandits' crimes, this problem should also be examined.

3. Young People Trained Abroad

Two types of problems arise with these young people:

--a) When they are sent abroad by the Secretariat of State for Labor, very often, when they return from their internships, they do not have a job or they are not placed in accordance with their training, or they are paid wages far below their level of training. Moreover, they frequently wait for placement for long periods.

This situation is partly explained by the fact that many of these young people were sent abroad within the framework of the PPI [not further identified], expecting to return to work on economic projects which are currently at a standstill because of the war.

As a result, many young people trained abroad are currently unemployed.

Moreover, in view of the present situation, we have to redefine the areas of priority for cadre training (defense, agriculture, education, health).

This is a basic problem which should be examined and corrected by our government.

In addition, when the young people are sent away, neither the party nor the OJM, nor the Secretariat of State for Labor, have the mechanisms for keeping track of their life abroad.

--b) Within the framework of the class struggle in our country, anticommunist attitudes still persist in certain sectors, leading to discrimination and obstacles against hiring young people who have been trained in the socialist brother countries.

These obstacles are created by reactionary elements and, as such, they should be penalized by the competent agencies.

A meeting is scheduled soon between the party and state leadership and representatives of the young people who have been trained abroad.

4. Professional Vocation

Within the possibilities of our society, we must give increasing consideration to the inclinations and aptitudes of the student in the choice of his course of training.

Within the goals established in the Plan, and bearing in mind the society's needs for the various professions, the students' own inclinations should be given greater consideration.

Regarding Instruction and Education

Education is not merely instruction.

Education is not just the transmission of scientific and technical information.

In addition to scientific and technical instruction, the mission of our schools is to promote political and patriotic education and the civic training of the citizens.

We want our children and young people to be raised and trained in the enlightened moral and ethical values of our society, such as dedication to the cause of the people, love of work and loyalty to the country, to the revolution and to socialism.

We want enlightened men, who assume, value and disseminate the positive elements of our tradition, who know how to interpret natural and social phenomena in a scientific light and who are concerned with understanding and achieving the ideal of justice, progress and humanity.

Regarding Intellectual Workers in Society, in the OJM and in the Revolution

Intellectual workers are a specific group in the society, comprising engineers, technicians, teachers, doctors, scientists, authors and the like.

Intellectual workers do not form a class. They come from various social strata--the peasantry, the working class, the petty bourgeoisie.

Portuguese colonialism did not create a Mozambican intellectual class. During the colonial rule, the engineers, technicians, teachers, physicians and other intellectual workers were foreigners.

In the last year of its rule, the colonial power initiated a process of training Mozambican cadres, seeking to win them over to its ideology of exploitation, to use them as its agents against the victorious advance of the liberation struggle.

During the struggle for national liberation, the first revolutionary Mozambican intellectual cadres appeared, trained by FRELIMO not only to develop the liberation struggle but, in the certainty of victory, to take up the hard task of national reconstruction.

In these 10 years of national independence, we have trained hundreds of intellectual workers. Today they constitute a social group which, keeping pace with our socioeconomic development, tends to become increasingly large. In our country, these cadres are mainly from peasant and worker backgrounds.

Applying the party guideline, the various sectors of economic, social and cultural activity have taken actions to train and forge, within the class struggle, revolutionary intellectuals. They are of vital importance to the consolidation of popular power, to the defense of the interests of the working classes, to the elimination of underdevelopment and to scientific and technical progress.

Intellectual and scientific training is the key to progress.

In the process of cadre training, distinctions are accentuated, reflected in behavior and in attitudes toward the revolution.

The positions taken by the intellectual workers are quite often linked to their class origin.

The great majority assume the values of the socialist revolution. Some of them, a few, assume values, behavior and models in opposition to those of the new society. They even deny their class origin, assuming attitudes contrary to the revolution and even betraying it. They abandon the country.

OJM Task to Win Over Young Intellectuals to the Cause of the Socialist Revolution

Our country is young; its intellectual workers are young. Many of them are members of the party and of the OJM. Others belong only to the OJM. Still others have not yet joined any mass democratic organization. What are they waiting for?

Most of them are patriotic; they love their people and their country. They are firmly determined to work to create well-being and prosperity for the vast working masses.

The OJM has an important role to play in duly integrating this social group in our revolutionary process.

In this process, it is natural that certain confrontations should arise, particularly with our organizational cadres. This is because these latter cadres have assumed the task of political direction of the organization, sacrificing their training, the further pursuit of their scientific, technical and cultural education. These cadres need not have complexes about the work of mobilizing and enlisting the intellectual cadres. They are, above all, political cadres, to whom the party has entrusted the task of directing the organization.

These complexes may be manifested in various ways. With a superiority complex, the cadre thinks: "I am a political cadre; the party has taught me that the political cadre is in the position of command and if the intellectual worker does not accept my directives I can dismiss him, or I can impose my interpretation of the political line of the party."

With an inferiority complex, the cadre thinks: "I have to go work with an individual whose academic training is more advanced than mine. It is better for me to avoid doing this. I do not want to feel inadequate and expose my shortcomings and limitations."

We cannot have a political cadre without developing our intellectual work.

The intellectual workers are no different from the other workers. They are in our ranks. We should make the best use of their abilities.

An anti-intellectual attitude is negative. It is a reactionary, conservative attitude, which impedes progress. The refusal to develop habits of study, investigation and scientific analysis impedes progress and brings the work to a halt.

The aim of our work is to provide, increasingly, a scientific-technical foundation for every worker, particularly the political worker. This foundation is essential to progress.

The creation of the OJM Cadres School will guarantee the political training needed to work correctly among our youth.

Regarding Underemployment, Unemployment, Inflation and Work Discipline

Generally speaking, our society has an unemployment problem. One of the basic causes is the constant state of war which the country has been experiencing for more than 2 decades.

Factories are operating on an irregular schedule because of:

--a) the lack of domestic raw materials (e.g., shortage of cotton, cashew nuts, oil seed for soap and oils);

--b) shortcomings in the agricultural marketing and transport systems;

--c) a shortage of raw materials or semi-finished products that must be imported;

--d) a shortage of parts and spare parts (particularly since the machinery is antiquated);

--e) the energy shortage (electricity, liquid fuels, etc.).

When all these factors are combined, the result is:

--On one hand, the factory is not producing goods;

--On the other hand, the workers continue to be paid, without producing.

At the industrial level, there is no immediate answer to this problem. The normalization of industrial activity requires that peace be established and that the country accumulate the financial means to purchase what it lacks.

Agriculture is the key to accumulating these means.

Only agriculture can employ the young people and produce wealth at this moment.

So it is necessary to transfer workers from idle factories into agriculture.

The OJM must work together with the Agriculture Ministry to study the ways in which the OJM can participate more fully in agricultural development projects.

Voluntary Labor, Work Brigades, Funding Sources of the OJM

1. Voluntary Labor

Our country already has broad and rich experience with voluntary labor. It has become the custom to celebrate a revolutionary conquest in Mozambique with the massive voluntary participation of its citizens in the tasks of cleaning and beautifying cities, towns and villages, clearing and cleaning roads and paths, weeding, harvesting cotton, rice and corn, planting trees, etc..

Through voluntary labor, our people learn the principle of respect for manual labor, which complements and allies with intellectual labor. It allows our people to contribute patriotically to the solution of the country's problems. This is a tradition which should be preserved and developed.

We should make it clear, however, that work creates wealth and this wealth benefits someone. So work should be compensated. Under certain circumstances, it may be decided that the individual who performs the voluntary labor will not receive the compensation.

When workers offer their voluntary services, everyone must know to whom they are offering it. For example, we could do some work and say: "We are not to be paid; we are donating the product of this work to the OJM Conference."

Another example is when we help out the Executive Council in a day of cleaning drainage ditches, the streets or the beaches and decide that the Executive Council should not pay us. In other words, our labor is for the benefit of the Executive Council.

A final example: the students at a school can harvest citrus fruit at a company located near the school. The company pays the school for their work and the proceeds are used for improvements to the school.

2. Work Brigades

The OJM can and should form work brigades of young people. These brigades should be responsible for carrying out all or part of certain projects in the Central Plan or in regional plans. This presupposes the establishment of contracts between the OJM, on one side, and the National Planning Commission or the investing entity, on the other. For example, in the construction or repair of a highway, 50 kilometers of road could be assigned to an OJM brigade. In the construction of a hospital or an irrigation system, OJM brigades could be responsible for part or all of the project, based on contracts.

We talk a great deal about the housing problem. We know that in the near future, or even at medium range, we cannot acquire the cement, steel and other building materials. Even with these materials, building is costly--on the order of 15 contos per square meter. In other words, a 60-square meter building, which is small for the average Mozambican family, would cost about 900 contos.

Materials purchased with foreign exchange represent a large component of this construction.

We have already experimented with improved construction using local materials. The Agriculture and Health ministries, for example, have already conducted experiments in this area.

Based on these experiences, the OJM could form construction brigades which could build housing sections in all the urban zones of the country. These housing units could be sold or rented. It would provide jobs for young people; it would provide a solution to the housing problem. It would not require highly skilled labor. Part of the proceeds from this work could be used to finance the OJM, in addition to paying the young construction workers.

Within the framework of the undertakings in progress, the OJM might obtain the concession for irrigation works and others. There is nothing to prevent the OJM from making contracts with the Agriculture Ministry to obtain land on which to establish youth brigades, either as a cooperative undertaking or within the framework of a business venture.

The country needs cotton for the textile industry and for export. The country needs oleaginous crops, grains, vegetables and legumes. The country needs reforestation.

This is all wealth; it provides employment for young people; it finances the OJM and it responds to the guidelines of the Fourth Congress; it meets the needs of the people. It benefits youth, it benefits the organization, it benefits the agricultural sector.

How the OJM Works with Party and State

--a) With the party.

As a mass democratic organization, the OJM is guided by the party.

The party has already outlined the general and specific directives for the work of the OJM. In the Fourth Congress, the party defined the activities and tasks to which the OJM should give priority.

The question of the directing role of the party is a theoretical principle which we must apply correctly. Problems have arisen in this process, reflecting the shortcomings of the party apparatus itself, already identified and analyzed in the last general session of the Political Bureau, and measures have been determined to solve them.

A member of the Central Committee Secretariat is responsible for working directly with the ODMs [Mass Democratic Organizations], so the ODMs will have someone with whom to discuss their problems.

This had already been decided. Because the Central Committee Secretariat was not functioning properly, for reasons pointed out in the Political Bureau's communique, this relationship was not working out.

The work methodology should extend to all levels, from province to locality.

The organs of the party and the OJM at the various levels should establish a calendar and a working program to be strictly observed, so as to ensure continuing orientation, control and rendering of accounts.

We must emphasize, however, that the OJM cannot wait around for answers to come from the party. The OJM must have a creative spirit, a spirit of initiative.

Within the OJM there are party members, members of the Central Committee, members of the provincial committees, members of the district committees, members of the local committees.

These party members must be the principal activists in the OJM. They are the ones who know the political line of the party, who know the political line of FRELIMO; they are the ones who must be able to apply that line creatively.

Democratic centralism is a principle of our administration. This means that the party members, in particular, must constantly study how to apply the party directives correctly within the OJM. Moreover, the experience and practice of the party members in working with the OJM are the principal source for the enrichment of the party line as it pertains to youth.

This is the methodology to ensure the directing role of the party within the OJM. The party leadership is political and not administrative.

The OJM has its own administrative organs.

The OJM directorate is not simply a receiver and post office box, to forward the concerns and problems of young people to the party. Based on the party guidelines, the OJM must seek to handle the young people's concerns and solve their problems, there at the base.

It is through this proper method of operation, this coordination and the political work of the party members within the OJM that the OJM will really be forging cadres for the party.

--b) [How the OJM works] with the state.

The state's primary instrument[s] for the economic and social development of the country [are] the Central State Plan and the regional plans.

Youth is an immense labor force. It must participate in carrying out the plan.

In the first place, the OJM structures and members at the various levels must certainly know the plan for their area.

With the respective ministries, the OJM must consider how to take part in the tasks stipulated in the plan.

For example, if the plan provides for construction of a railway line that crosses several districts, in one or two provinces, the OJM organizations in these districts and provinces should, in coordination with the ministries responsible for this project, seek to define their area of action and engage the enthusiasm and energy of the young people in these regions.

If the existing school in an area lacks a classroom, desks, enough benches for the number of students, the local OJM should cooperate with the local government to find a way to bring in the local young people to build more classrooms, desks or benches, using local resources.

The state, the ministries and the provincial, district and local governments should always be aware of the great strength and availability of youth. In coordination with the OJM, they [the government agencies] should define the specific ways to use this potential for national reconstruction.

The involvement of the OJM in the tasks of economic and social development should be an integral and coordinated part of the national plans. The OJM should establish its own programs within the framework of the Central State Plan and the regional plans.

In the first place, we must concentrate all our effort on implementing the plans. We should not conceive any additional programs until the principal plans have been implemented.

Since the OJM will be compensated for cooperating with the state, enlisting and participating in the planned tasks, this will be one of the sources of funding for the organization.

Youth in the Armed Forces and Paramilitary Forces

First of all, let us clarify some concepts.

1. To Defend the Country

It is the duty of every citizen--men, women, old and young--to defend the country. You defend the country by joining the Armed Forces, the police, the SNASP [People's National Security Service], the popular militias and vigilance groups.

Individuals acting alone cannot defend the country. The OJM must recruit young people to enlist in these sectors.

2. Compulsory Military Service [SMO]

Military service is the obligation of every citizen, everywhere in the world. There cannot be categories of individuals who are exempt from compulsory military service, except in cases of proven physical incapacity.

There are problems with the lack of organization in the Mobilization Service. These problems were brought up at the recent plenary session of the Political Bureau and we can say that practical measures will be taken soon. Questions pertaining to logistics were also raised.

3. Professional Careers in the Armed Forces, Police and Security

The country needs young people who will pursue a professional career in the Armed Forces, the police and the SNASP, as members of the Permanent Staff.

According to age groups, military highschools, schools and academies will gradually be created to provide this type of professional training. Under the present conditions, the great pool for recruitment for the Permanent Staff are the young people now in Compulsory Military Service. These young people will not be admitted to the permanent staff on the basis of this compulsory military service but, rather, on the basis of a vocation, founded on a high level of political awareness and on specific training.

4. OJM and Defense and Security Forces

As an organization, and without presenting an exhaustive list, the OJM has some primary tasks:

--1. First, to ensure that its cadres and members complete their SMO.

Very few OJM cadres have already completed their SMO.

--2. To select, from among its cadres and members, those individuals with heightened awareness and to guide them into professional careers in the Armed Forces, the police and the SNASP.

--3. Through its members (and, if necessary, even assigning cadres for this purpose), to develop the action of the OJM in the Armed Forces, the police and the SNASP.

--4. To lead more and more of its cadres and members to join the militias and popular vigilance groups.

--5. To promote education and patriotic awareness campaigns, particularly on behalf of Compulsory Military Service.

--6. To promote youth celebrations in neighborhoods and villages when recruits are inducted and when soldiers are demobilized.

Basic Questions

Generosity and Availability of Youth

Young people constitute their own social class and, because of their age, they have few commitments. Quite often this freedom leads young people, regardless of their social background, to join the service for the revolutionary cause.

In any country, the young people of today are the leaders of tomorrow. For us, it is a matter of ensuring that the generation which created the FRELIMO, which brought about 25 September, which won the war for liberation, which created the Marxist-Leninist party and installed popular democracy in Mozambique, will be followed by a new generation of revolutionaries.

It is true that we are seeing some negative phenomena in the new generation: young people who allow themselves to be corrupted, young people who shrink from difficulties, young people who adopt values contrary to our history and our culture. These young people are not representative of the new generation.

The new generation fought in Zimbabwe and Uganda. The new generation is combating the armed bandits. The new generation is building dams, roads, bridges and power lines. The new generation is implanting our educational system and is teaching more than 1.5 million Mozambicans. The new generation is developing the National Health Service and providing the people with medical and health assistance which they never had before.

Struggle against Tribalism, Regionalism, Racism

Since the beginning of the liberation struggle, we have defined tribalism, regionalism and racism as the enemy. We have said that our gun barrels, which were pointed at Portuguese colonialism, were also trained on tribalism, regionalism and racism.

Our people endured 5 centuries of colonial and racist exploitation. Because racism denies the dignity of men, we were captured and bound like animals to be sold to slave owners. Like beasts of burden, we were subjected to forced labor. Just as the cattle driver uses the prod, or the horseman uses the spur, the racist lords used the "sea horse," the ferule, on us.

Our wives were not ladies; they were girls. Our fathers were not men; they were boys, even though their hair had turned white.

In the cities which we had built, we could not travel without a pass; even with the pass, we were forbidden to stroll about. We had no culture; we had habits and customs. We had no history.

Schooling was denied to us. We were taught only the catechism.

Colonial folklore, the racist mentality, developed a whole image of us, based on prejudice. The sweat of a black man smelled bad. A white man could be illiterate; the black man was stupid. A white man could lie abed; the black man was lazy. The black man had no intelligence, only cunning.

The struggle against colonialism also eradicated white racist rule in our country. It destroyed institutionalized racism.

There are still some vestiges of this racism in our country today.

There are still reflexes and phrases which indicate certain prejudices. There were whites who became Mozambican for opportunistic reasons. There are individuals who still think the black is incapable of performing scientific-technical work.

On the other hand, among the blacks who have been victims of the colonial and racist rule, there are still repressed emotions, resentments, wounds, scars, which condition reflexes, affect relations and create mistrust. They still see, in every white man, the image of the colonist who oppressed, humiliated and discriminated against them.

We do not want these attitudes from the past to contaminate the new generation, particularly the children. It is in the schools, in the barracks, in living together in fellowship that we will build a new non-racist relationship among equals, free of prejudice.

We want to build a new society. One of the essential aspects of this society is that it is not racist.

The new society constitutes the alternative civilization that we propose to establish in our region, in the struggle against the last bastion of racism and fascism in Africa. This is why racist South Africa attacks us.

FRELIMO has always fought and will continue to fight against everything that divides the people. The enemies of our people use tribalism, regionalism and racism as their favorite weapons.

The experience of FRELIMO has shown that these evils do not reflect the sentiments of the large masses. Out of ignorance, there may be phenomena of this type among the broad masses, but they are disappearing because of our political work. When sentiments of this nature appear, they reflect the political attitude of a handful of people. They manifest themselves first as racism and, as events develop, they evolve into regionalism, tribalism and even localism.

Simango, Gwengere, Kavandame: to combat the political line of FRELIMO, to satisfy their ambition for power, to disguise their eagerness to replace the colonists

as the exploiting class, these men began by defining the white man as the target and demanding that whites be expelled from FRELIMO.

In Tanzania, with the complicity of individuals in the government, they managed to get our non-black militants expelled and even arrested.

Then they began to murder black militants.

Next, they blockaded the borders, preventing supplies of weapons, ammunition and medical supplies from entering and preventing the evacuation of the wounded. They tried to promote the secession of Cabo Delgado.

Finally, they betrayed the struggle and went over to the Portuguese colonists.

In 1974, when FRELIMO was victorious, these people, who had said they were anti-white and supported 7 September, took over the Radio, allied with Ian Smith and even asked Vorster to invade Mozambique to prevent the people from taking power.

Today, new Simangos and Kavandames are waging their campaigns again. They go around tallying members of the leadership by the color of their skin and not by their political colors. In some areas, they are already beginning to discriminate among blacks, asking what region they come from. Then they have to find out what tribe they belong to and, finally, what village they come from.

Actually, what they mean to day is that they themselves should be in the leadership. When they are not in the leadership, they always say that the leadership is dominated by others. Who are these others? Where do they come from? Their ambition to be a part of the leadership has nothing to do with serving the people; it is to satisfy their own egocentric, petty, antisocial interests.

Today, these ambitious types attempt to recruit young people. They will tell a young person who has only recently received a bachelor's or master's degree that he or she has not been given the post which he/she deserves because of the whites.

Racism is basically an urban phenomenon. In the rural zones, the false tribal and regional loyalties are exploited by the armed bands directed by the South African racists, who are seeking to recruit members for their ranks. Now, as yesterday, the new exploiters who are directed by the imperialists use tribalism, regionalism and racism to destroy our basic weapon, our unity.

By creating armed bands and sending them into our country, the imperialists seek to achieve two related objectives:

--1. Because the armed bandits are black, to give the aggression the appearance of a civil war;

--2. Using the pretext of a civil war, to invade and divide Mozambique, to fragment our country, to liquidate the People's Republic of Mozambique and to install a puppet government.

They will not succeed, because our weapon is national unity; they will not succeed because of our anti-tribalism, our anti-racism.

Now more than ever. the OJM must give no quarter in its war against tribalism, regionalism and racism; it must raise high the banner of national unity.

Religion

When we speak about religion, we must begin by distinguishing between the party and the OJM.

The party is a Marxist-Leninist organization, the vanguard of the working classes. The OJM is a mass organization for the millions of young people in our country who love the country and who want the revolution to succeed.

The principal dispute in our country, in our life and in the world in general, is between the exploiters and the exploited, between capitalism and socialism.

This is a clash between class interests.

It is not a disagreement between races; it is not a disagreement among ethnic or language groups or with regard to religious beliefs. Hitler said he was an atheist and attacked and massacred communist workers, Christians and Jews. Salazar said he was a Catholic and ordered the massacre of Mozambican Catholics. Caetano said he was a Christian and ordered the massacre of the Christian communities of Wiriamí and Inhamitanga; he ordered the assassination, in prison, of the Reverend Manganhela; he arrested and expelled priests from Mozambique.

It is not religion which divides us. There are religious patriots and there are atheist exploiters.

As a party, our conception of the world is based on materialism. All religions have conceptions of the world based on supernatural, idealistic concepts. There is nothing to prevent these concepts from being discussed in seminars and study circles. The constitutional freedom to practice a religious faith also implies the right to espouse atheism.

But, before anything else, we are all citizens of the Mozambican nation. The national banner flies over all alike. Our soldiers also fight and die so that towns will not be ravished by the armed bands. They also fight and die so the places of worship will not be pillaged by the armed bandits.

As a mass organization, the OJM does not exclude any young person from its ranks on the basis of religion. Young people with religious faiths have a place in the ranks of the OJM.

There is no place in the OJM ranks for enemies of the country and of the revolution.

In our country, there are two great monotheistic currents; i.e., which believe in the existence of a single god: they are the Muslims and the Christians.

The Muslims are divided into two principal sects: Suni and Shiite. The Christian churches are divided among Catholic and Protestant. The Protestants are divided into several currents and sects, but we can say that the major sects in our country are the Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist and Baptist churches.

We also have polytheistic currents, such as Hindu and those which are known as pagan.

Some of the ethical and moral concepts of these religions may correspond to those of our party, but this is coincidental and not for similar reasons or motives.

We party members are aware that moral concepts result and evolve with the development of the material base of the society; they are the expression of the social organization and of class interests or the interests of the ruling classes.

Religious believers consider their ethical concepts to be rigid and, in one way or another, the result of a divine or supernatural revelation.

In a matter as simple as that of the family, the principal monotheistic currents in our country have opposing ethical concepts.

The Muslims consider a polygamous family to be ethically proper, but this is rejected by almost all the Christian faiths. Except for the Roman Catholic Church, Christian churches accept divorce as ethical. Catholics consider it a sin.

We say this so that the ethic promoted by the party will not be confused with the ethics preached by the various religions.

When this religious ethic promotes a sense of solidarity among men and a sense of social responsibility, when this ethic favors social justice and supports progress and the struggle for peace, when this ethic does not reject the defense of the country and of the revolution, we have no argument with it.

We can declare that most of the citizens with firm religious convictions are honorable, working people, whose social behavior is wholesome.

The diversity existing in our country must not be exploited by our enemies to divide our people as they have done in the past. Our task is to seek, in this diversity, a means for the enrichment of our country, for the progress of our people.

In no way can we conceive of religious diversity as a target of repressive administrative measures. We have the right to practice or not to practice a religion, within respect for the laws of our country.

Class Struggle

As our party teaches us, the class struggle is intensifying in our country. We must always identify who our enemy is and what is our base of support.

If we want to be the exploiters, our friends will be the imperialists and racist South Africa. Our base of support will be the landowners, the speculators, the bourgeoisie. In this case, the working people will be our enemy and we will aim our weapons against them.

If, on the other hand, we want to fight against this exploitation, the working masses will be our base of support and our weapons will be aimed against imperialism and its agents, the armed and unarmed bandits.

For a long period of history, Mozambique was ruled by colonialism, so it was impossible for Mozambican exploiters to develop a feudal system based on petty chieftans or to create a national bourgeoisie. Colonialism destroyed the roots of the feudal system and, generally speaking, installed puppet chieftans, who were lackeys of the station chiefs and administrators and did not represent the people.

At the same time, colonialism denied the Mozambicans any possibility of accumulating wealth, to form a bourgeoisie. Colonialism would not even permit Mozambicans to own land or to brand their own cattle.

After independence, there was no Mozambican bourgeoisie. There were those who aspired to the bourgeoisie and had bourgeois appetites.

When we launched the process of nationalization and socialization, the individuals with bourgeois leanings in our society did not oppose it; they thought that the nationalizations were not against them because they affected primarily the foreign bourgeoisie. In many cases, these individuals with bourgeois appetites created situations which forced the foreigners to leave the country, abandoning their property.

These same individuals see the state sector as a kind of gold mine to be exploited to accumulate the necessary capital to form a bourgeoisie. By plundering the property of the state and the state companies, and through the "old boy" network, nepotism and speculation, they create the conditions to become the bourgeoisie.

Some of them have gotten rich from the war. They steal goods from the Armed Forces, such as food, fuel and trucks; they take advantage of the shortages created by the war and by natural disasters to create parallel channels, to engage in speculation and black marketing.

The wealth which they have amassed illegally, their conspicuous consumption and their arrogance have become an insult to honest workers. We must strike out against these vermin and ticks which suck our blood, but first we must purify our ranks.

We should make it clear, so as not to create confusion in identifying the enemy, that there is a difference between these parasites and honest businessmen in the private sector, who operate with respect for the law and within the interests of the nation's economy.

The length of this phase of the revolutionary process guarantees the existence of the private sector. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique is clear on this matter.

In our country, the socialist sector--state and cooperative enterprises--must become more and more dominant.

We cannot ignore the heroic efforts and the positive results which have been achieved and sustained in the state sector in recent years. These results are the product of the work of patriotic cadres, revolutionary cadres, outstanding workers, heroes of labor.

Many of these state companies were honored during the third and fourth congresses. Workers and companies received awards. There were workers and cadres who were mutilated and murdered or were wounded defending our conquests in agriculture, industry, energy and trade, in construction, transportation and telecommunications.

In this sensitive phase of our revolution, Mozambican youth must now assume responsibility for confronting and neutralizing the attacks by the class enemy:

--by struggling to improve the functioning and management of the socialist sector of our economy, making all the state and cooperative enterprises efficient, productive and lucrative;

--by reporting and thwarting the black marketeers and speculators, as well as those in responsible positions in the government who have connived with these black marketeers and speculators.

This youth conference, your speeches, your opinions, your strength, are an encouragement and a solid foundation for us to launch a drastic offensive to purify our ranks and to eradicate speculation.

Thank you very much.

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CS0: 3442/183

EDITORIAL ANALYZES CHANGES WITHIN FRELIMO

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 20 Mar 86 p 6

[Editorial: "The Leap Forward"]

[Text] Six of FRELIMO's most "hardline" leaders have now begun discharging duties as super-ministers of Mozambique. Officially, the changes made on the Politburo level are aimed at the government's subordination and at the reinforcement and concentration of powers in the party. And this is because, according to the communique released in Maputo, the solving of the serious economic and social problems observed in the country requires a "constant action on the part of the party leadership to control all government activity." Thus, Marcelino dos Santos, Alberto Chipande, Jorge Rebelo, Mario Machungo, Armando Gebuza, and Oscar Monteiro, who already held major positions, will have added responsibilities: the "supervision" of the various areas and sectors of Mozambican life.

With this change, FRELIMO is attempting to recover the role of a force leading the state and the society which had actually been assumed by the government. The reinforcement and concentration of powers in the party is also aimed at acting as a response to a widespread crisis situation. President Samora Machel and FRELIMO realize that they must at all costs curb the increasing deterioration of the military, political, economic, and social situation in Mozambique. If they do not succeed in this now, it may be too late in the future.

In the politicomilitary realm, FRELIMO has not achieved very good results against RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance]. On the contrary, the latter's action has been increasingly checking the capacity and efficiency of the Mozambican Army. The guerrilla activities are continuing, using the "scorched earth" theory and disorganizing the production systems, which are some of the country's leading economic difficulties. Not only that: it should be recalled that, during recent years, Mozambican agriculture has been seriously upset by a prolonged period of drought and, subsequently, by dreadful floods caused by the passage of hurricane "Demoina." Add to this an obvious, understandable insufficiency of material and human resources, and we shall have an approximate notion of the dimensions of the problems to be solved by the Maputo authorities.

Samora Machel is apparently at an impasse: despite the agreements signed with the Pretoria government and the military aid from Zimbabwe, the Mozambican Army has not managed to neutralize the RENAMO forces. Despite a certain amount of reorientation in their foreign policy, shifting pragmatically toward the West, the Maputo leaders have not succeeded in meeting the population's fundamental needs in the economic area. The food shortages are tending to spread famine, the exchange balance has reached a phase of virtually breakdown, and the international assistance is never sufficient, nor altruistically without self-interest. Hence, the "leap forward" is what remains for him.

President Machel and his super-ministers (a governmental remodeling is anticipated soon) are going to hold all the power, through FRELIMO. They are hard, experienced individuals. They will have to cope with the insecurity which prevails in the country, the economic weakness, the food shortage, and the deterioration of Mozambican society. Unquestionably a heavy burden and a risky challenge. Is there still time to withstand it and win? The special relations that we have with Mozambique, which we want to be close and fraternal, oblige us to carefully monitor the development of the situation in Maputo; and, if possible (after all, the ploys are being made in several capitals), to try to help the Mozambicans to build a better future than the present, in peace.

2909

CSO: 3442/186

SCENARIO FOR MACHEL, RENAMO MEETING PROPOSED

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 25 Mar 86 p 18

[Text] The progress of the offensive launched some weeks ago by RENAMO, that is, the Mozambican National Resistance, is now pressuring President Samora Machel to seek a basis for understanding with the rebels again, as various sources have informed us; but the results of his endeavors appear to be quite dubious.

On the one hand, Machel has attempted to attract in this direction certain small-sized opposition movements not affiliated with RENAMO, as well as dissidents from the latter organization. A meeting of those groups, to be held in the Federal Republic of Germany city of Cologne and, by every indication, sponsored by the Maputo Government, has been planned for the end of this month. Nevertheless, several of its potential participants seem ready to refrain from attending the meeting, considering the collapse of the FRELIMO regime to be inevitable right now.

On the other hand, it is known that the Mozambican dictator has not yet stopped meeting with foreign mediators, specifically, in Pretoria, Harare, Washington, and even Lisbon. The South African minister of foreign affairs, Roelof Botha, has been in Maputo again; correspondents accredited to the Zimbabwe capital claimed that Robert Mugabe would agree to act as mediator between FRELIMO and RENAMO; the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Frank Wisner, included Maputo on his most recent African tour (although the latter was officially intended to deal primarily with the issue of Namibia); and the president of the People's Republic of Mozambique himself met in Stockholm with his Portuguese counterpart, Mario Soares, during Olof Palme's funeral services.

Machel Insults the Portuguese Again

It appears obvious that some of those contacts proved futile. Robert Mugabe did not put forth any mediation plan, certain that RENAMO would reject it, as based on someone who is viewed by the rebels as being as much an enemy as the Maputo government. The Republic of South Africa is only pretending to be still willing to consider the failed N'Komati Accord to be in existence. And Frank Wisner's statements in Lisbon, as well as those of the Portuguese foreign affairs minister, Pires de Miranda, were completely devoid of objectivity.

particularly with regard to Mozambique. Moreover, this trip by Wisner may be considered one of the last of his career as traveling salesman for the American secretary of state's office.

It is not known in what terms the talks between Samora Machel and Mario Soares in Stockholm took place. What is known is that, immediately after his return to Mozambique, the dictator spoke at the opening of the Conference of the Youth Organization (equivalent to the Soviet "Pioneers"), and again severely attacked both Portugal and the Portuguese.

In addition to reiterating the usual charge that "Lisbon is serving as a base for the imperialists and the rebels," Machel commented in insulting terms (as he has not done for a long time) on Portugal's action in Mozambique prior to independence.

RENAMO: an Adamant Position

FRELIMO's intelligence services, while attempting to make use of potential collaborators, resumed the divisive maneuver, which consists of attributing to RENAMO's top echelons an imaginary "Portuguese component," of a neo-colonialist type, in the absence of which (they hint) it would become easy to establish dialogue between the government and the rebels. As we know, that maneuver is aimed personally at the Resistance secretary general, Evo Fernandes, and is based on an outlook that has already proven to be entirely false.

As for RENAMO, whose head, Afonso Dhlakama, is directing on the spot the operations that are under way in the center of Mozambique, its position has remained adamant regarding negotiations, and one does not note any trend toward giving up the superior position that has been maintained and continued during recent months.

Quite the contrary: its head, Dhlakama, categorically denied that his movement has requested Zimbabwe's mediation which, he added, "would never be accepted." If Samora Machel wants to set up talks, he will have to request them directly of RENAMO, as the Resistance leader also stated.

Canda and Muanza Taken by the Rebels

Meanwhile, the FRELIMO troops and those of the expeditionary force sent by Robert Mugabe to aid Samora Machel are still being defeated by RENAMO's guerrilla fighters over a vast area of central Mozambique.

The government troops lost the military base at Canda, a few kilometers from Vila Paiva, headquarters of the district of the same name; leaving the rebels a large volume of military equipment, namely, armored vehicles and artillery, following the destruction of a Zimbabwean military column that was attempting to drive back the attackers. The occupation of Canda (reported in a RENAMO communique and not denied by the government forces) was combined with the recovery of Muanza, on the railroad line connecting the city of Beira with Zambezia, Tete, and Malawi. The government forces reportedly suffered 200

fatalities there, 71 of which consisted of troops from Zimbabwe. In the south, the guerrilla invasions of the Maputo suburbs are continuing, reaching, in particular, the satellite city of Matola and its industrial facilities.

To better assess the situation of the government forces and the population controlled by them, consideration should be given to what a representative of Zambezia Province said at the aforementioned Youth Organization Conference, according to the account sent from Maputo and published in the Portuguese daily press: "We want to participate in defense, but we have no weapons, we have no boots, nor clothing, nor food." Such testimony is as unbiased as it is significant.

2909

CSO: 3442/186

LOCAL MERCHANT REPORTS ON CHISSANO CASHEW CROP

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 12 Mar 86 p 8

[Text] More than 570 tons of cashews were marketed during this season in the locality of Chissano, in Bilene, Gaza province. The goal, achievement of which is almost guaranteed, is 600 tons, NOTICIAS was informed by a local merchant, Jose Mario Friaes. He also spoke about the main problems encountered in the marketing of cashews in that locality.

Jose Mario Friaes is 37, and is involved in the cashew marketing process for the second consecutive season, his first having been during the 1984-85 harvest.

During this year's harvest, he has sold 570 tons, 560 of which have already been delivered to the MOCITA processing plant in Xai-Xai, while the remaining 10 are in the process of shipment from the marketing centers to the warehouse.

"I am convinced that despite some difficulties encountered, I will fulfill the 600-ton goal assigned me by the district, based on the quantities set for marketing in Bilene Macia," Jose Friaes said.

He said the present marketing campaign is likely to produce the best results, because, he said, the weather conditions in his region were much better than those in the past 2 years.

He said that another factor which contributed to this success was the extensive work done to mobilize the people to ensure a clean cashew crop, with preliminary pruning.

He added that as a corollary to this work, the locality of Chissano achieved better results than ever in this campaign, with the villages of Ulombe, Chibutisse and Maguaze doing especially outstanding work in the picking and delivery of this important export product.

Goods Arrived Late

Speaking about the products used to support this campaign, Jose Friaes said that various goods valued at more than 7 million meticals were received, including goods of first necessity, cloth and knickknacks.

In the opinion of Jose Friaes, the greatest problem in connection with the goods received was the fact that they arrived relatively late in terms of the crucial phase of the marketing campaign itself, so that a substantial part of the cashews were diverted by the suppliers for other uses, such as, for example, addition to meals.

"I can assure you that the first shipment of goods was only received in the first half of December, a month after the campaign began. This cut short our prospects," our interlocutor said, adding that had it not been for this problem, he would have sold more than the 600 tons set as his goal.

He expressed regret that the most valued goods (various kinds of cloth) did not reach the warehouse until the beginning of last January, when the campaign was already half over. "These are the items the people need most," he assured us.

He added that the last delivery of goods, also made up of various types of cloth and clothing, did not arrive until 20 February, when the cashew harvesting was almost finished.

"During the 1984-85 campaign, the central bodies for the cashew sector assured us that we would have no transportation problems this season, because some vehicles would be allocated to certain merchants who were involved in the marketing process in each district," he recalled.

He said that in any case, the merchants had not yet lost hope of receiving these vehicles, because "they know that patience is a virtue."

5157

CS0:3442/172

FARM MARKETING SITUATION IN MECULA, MARRUPA DISTRICTS REPORTED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 13 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] The districts of Mecula and Marrupa, in Niassa, will be able to remain self-sufficient in such products as corn, sorghum and various kinds of beans, thanks to excellent production in the family sector. On the other hand, the people need to resume their traditional production of income crops, including cotton and sunflower seeds, which have not been produced for many years due to lack of aid and support in seeds.

This information was provided to our reporters in Pemba by Adolfo Gomes and Romao Matusse, the administrators in Mecula and Marrupa, respectively, who recently visited the provincial capital of Cabo Delgado to discuss matters related to the marketing of their products with local bodies.

The geographic isolation resulting from the entirely inadequate condition of the roads linking these districts with the city of Lichinga, some of which have been impassable for many years, is the greatest hindrance to the development of Mecula and Marrupa. According to these administrators, material and sometimes moral aid is inadequate in all sectors.

Despite all these difficulties, farm production in the family sector has increased constantly, and has now resulted in self-sufficiency in corn, sorghum and beans. By way of an illustrative example, the average annual production of corn in Marrupa is 300 tons, that of mapira 200 tons and that of sunflower seeds 400 tons.

According to Romao Matusse, these figures do not entirely reflect the real situation, since because of transportation difficulties, marketing is not possible in all of the localities, such that the people are always left with a considerable surplus each season. The situation is further aggravated by the shortage of products for barter.

The two administrators were questioned by a TEXTAFRICA official who traveled to Cabo Delgado to look into the possibility of purchasing cotton. When asked about the production in that region, they said that if there is no cotton in Mecula and Marrupa, the fault lies with the bodies in the sector which fail to send seed and to provide the family sector with the necessary assistance.

Romao Matusse said that the people have a relatively strong tradition of producing cotton and sunflower seeds, but they do not get sufficient encouragement. "We tell the people to produce sunflower seeds so as to have oil and cotton so as to have clothing, but they do not see the sense in any of this, since these products have rotted in the warehouses in the past," this administrator said. By way of illustration he noted that about 600 tons of sunflower seeds have been in our warehouses for almost 2 years awaiting shipment.

Where the social sectors are concerned, education is the most seriously affected, not to mention health, where the problems are more complex. There has been no fourth grade nor will there be within the framework of the national education system, because there are no teachers trained for the purpose. Last year, the third grades in all the schools failed to meet the standards of the national education system, for the same reason.

5157

CSO:3442/172

OXFAM PLANS EMERGENCY AID FOR CABO DELGADO PROVINCE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 13 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] OXFAM of Great Britain will in the course of its current fiscal year, which ends next April, spend 100 pounds sterling on various social support projects in the northern part of the province of Cabo Delgado. The director of that organization for Mozambique, Stephen Johnson, said in an interview granted to this newspaper in the city of Pemba that this amount will be invested almost entirely in the district of Palma. It represents a third of the total sum allocated for our country, to be used above all in emergency programs for the settlements affected by natural catastrophes in various parts of the country.

According to information obtained from Stephen Johnson by our reporters, OXFAM will concentrate the bulk of its resources on the district of Palma, which he himself selected, with the agreement of the organization, as the main center to benefit from aid.

This choice was made because of the geographic isolation of this district and the difficulties in transportation, whether by sea or by land, which make the social development of this part of the country difficult.

Stephen Johnson, who visited Cabo Delgado in 1984 to study the possibilities for aid, identified two areas, specifically the rehabilitation of the Nangade Center for the Physically Handicapped, with the cooperation of the Provincial Health Office, and the completion of the N'Tamba Pilot Educational Center, working with the Provincial Education and Culture Office, also in Palma.

On the other hand, although they have not yet been definitively determined, some areas for small projects, such as straw products, fishing, carpentry and blacksmithing cooperatives, will benefit from the OXFAM investment, the director said. The conditions and mechanisms which will govern this aid have already been agreed upon with the provincial government, and others are still in the study stage.

An office of that organization is to be established in the city of Pemba in July to oversee the implementation of the programs, because of the importance OXFAM assigns to this aid. The office will be staffed by a representative

who, in addition to seeing to the development of the programs, will be in charge of identifying new areas at various points in the province which merit OXFAM support.

Plans therefore call for the launching of the program toward the middle of this year, when a vessel will dock at the port of Pemba to unload various construction materials, a prefabricated building to be used as a warehouse, which will be installed just adjacent to the port, some materials for the blacksmiths and carpenters, and two trucks for domestic trade, all of these goods being destined for Palma.

However, without a doubt, the main impact of the OXFAM aid will come later this year with the gift of a landing launch with a capacity of 50 tons to carry freight, as a priority, as well as passengers, along the coast between Palma and Pemba.

"Before even thinking of any support, it will be necessary above all to resolve the transportation problem, both for the population and to support our projects. Therefore until the launch, which will come from Europe, arrives, the two trucks will carry out this work," the OXFAM director told this newspaper.

OXFAM Provides Launch

The government of the province of Cabo Delgado and OXFAM, represented respectively by the provincial planning director, Virgilio Mateus, and Stephen Johnson, signed an agreement in Pemba on Thursday of last week on the purchase and use of a vessel made available by that British organization.

The landing launch made available by OXFAM, which will arrive later this year, will make an extraordinary contribution to resolving the transport problem of the people of that coastal zone of the country. The vessel, named the Qulonga, which has the capacity of 50 tons, is scheduled to navigate exclusively in the territorial waters of the region between the ports of Palma and Pemba, and will be able to operate to the south of the Lurlo River, except for rare instances.

This offer was made subsequent to the support the OXFAM is providing for the development of some projects in the district of Palma, our reporters learned in the course of the signing ceremony. The agreement regulates the operation of the vessel, which is to be used to benefit Palma and the intermediary ports, on a priority basis, carrying freight, primarily, and also passengers.

The agreement, which covers 5 years, makes the provincial government of Cabo Delgado responsible, through the maritime administration, for the maintenance and use of the vessel. It further calls for the support of other organizations and foreign bodies to benefit the province, which is to make payment in convertible currency. This money will be used to purchase spare parts abroad.

5157

CSO:3442/172

MINISTER PRAISES NEW PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Ernesto Zucule: "Alternative Will Improve Quality of Education"]

[Text] "The commissioning of the Higher Pedagogical Institute (ISP) this year will mark the decisive, enduring and final launching of the process of improving the quality of our faculties and of education in Mozambique, bearing in mind that the basic and specific task of this new institution will be to train teachers with solid political, ideological, scientific and technical, psychopedagogical and methodological training, so as to contribute to the gradual achievement of ever higher indices of school achievement by the students," Vice Minister of Education Joao Carlos Beirao explained during an interview with this NOTICIAS reporter.

The vice minister of education said that with the establishment of the Higher Pedagogical Institute, the proper path has been found. It will allow all of the first- and second-level teachers and also those on the high-school and pre-university levels to achieve an ever higher standard of academic and vocational training without abandoning their careers.

This measure means that teachers obtaining vocational training can simultaneously prepare for a higher specialty, while they complete all of the levels needed for entry into the institute.

"This means that a primary teacher can obtain a licentiate in pedagogy and psychology, for example, without abandoning his teaching duties on that level," Joao Carlos Beirao explained to us.

"To date, there has been no way that primary school teachers could reach a higher level in their vocational and other training without leaving their jobs," the vice minister of education explained in the course of describing the functions and the role of the Higher Pedagogical Institute in stabilizing the teaching body and properly defining teaching careers and requirements.

The establishment of the Higher Pedagogical Institute will definitively resolve the problems resulting from the different types of teacher training for the same subsystem or educational level, and those involving definition of

the teaching career and requirements, since in the light of the principles of the national education system, it standardizes all teacher training levels.

To achieve this, the ISP will in the relatively near future create other courses leading to a licentiate, for example in primary education, as well as the courses already planned and scheduled for introduction there this year.

The vice minister of education said that the establishment of the ISP was planned with a view to the rapid future development of education, and for this reason it provides for the various stages in the growth and development of the trained teaching corps.

In order definitively to resolve the problem of differentiated teacher training and thus to standardize teacher-training levels, the ISP will see to the phasing out of the Faculty of Education, in the medium time range, thus taking upon itself full responsibility for the training of teachers for the secondary and pre-university levels.

Moreover, this official defended the ministerial document establishing the ISP, stating that our economic and social development makes it necessary to train teachers with solid political-ideological, scientific and technical, psychopedagogical and methodological qualifications. This document therefore provided for a specialized institution in Maputo to achieve this goal.

Future Activities

In addition to training teachers for the various special educational fields, the ISP will also train technicians for the multiple sectors in education, ranging from teachers and psychologist to geographers and historians. Apart from the regular courses, plans call for offering others in correspondence schooling and educational research activities.

One of the main responsibilities of the ISP will be to organize advanced training and refresher courses for teachers, lectures on various subjects, with a view to the constant improvement of teachers' knowledge, and post-graduate courses for those who have recently obtained licentiates.

As an institution which will concern itself with educational research, the ISP will also produce teaching and didactic and audiovisual materials.

In addition, due to the specificity of some of the activities mentioned above, the ISP will coordinate its work with other research and educational institutions, although it will bear the responsibility for popularizing the results of all of the work resulting from or carried out under its control.

The complexity of the activities of the ISP in this first phase as well as those in the future justifies the fact that its organization provides for two vice rectors, who will concern themselves specifically with the tasks involved in the academic and research areas.

5157

CSO:3442/172

BRIEFS

PRIVATE COMMERCIAL VEHICLES--A new fleet of transport vehicles and medium- and heavy-tonnage tractors will shortly be sold to the cooperative and private sectors involved in the farm marketing campaign in the province of Nampula, according to Minister of Home Trade Aranda da Silva. Last year, a fleet of 50 new trucks was sold, the greater part to the private sector. This step is regarded as a way of encouraging those in the private sector who have participated actively in the farm marketing process. The same source said that 70 carts, 30 tractors and 25 trucks are already in the city of Nampula. All of these units will be sold to private individuals and to the cooperative sector. According to the minister, the purchase of carts is a response to the concern voiced by the merchants themselves. For these and other reasons, the farm marketing campaign for this year is viewed more optimistically than has been the case in earlier years. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Mar 86 p 8] 5157

ZAMBEZIA PROVINCE TRADE--Energetic measures to deal with the parasitism in the domestic trade sector and to make the system for distributing products to the people more efficient will be implemented in the province of Zambezia. The director for the sector, Armindo Braz Barradas, said that strict control of warehouses, supervision of the operation of the goods-loading and unloading circuit and supervision at the distributing enterprises are the main goals in the effort to make the process of supplying the people more efficient. At a meeting held with Zambezia Provincial Distribution Unit (DIPROZA) workers, Armindo Braz Barradas ordered the dismissal of a warehouse guard for involvement in the diversion of products. In this connection, he noted that disciplinary measures may be adopted if the survey made in that enterprise shows them to be necessary. It was learned that these irregularities were detected during a campaign to check on and control the enterprises in the sector which began last January. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 13 Mar 86 p 5] 5157

CSO:3442/172

LOCATIONS, POPULATION OF MOZAMBIKAN REFUGEE CAMPS

Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 19 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Charles Kachikoti]

[Text] Katete district governor Mr Zongani Banda has called on the Commissioner for Refugees in Zambia to create camps for Mozambican refugees in the Eastern Province.

Mr Banda said in an interview that his office was concerned that the refugees had after fleeing their homeland because of FRELIMO-MNR clashes scattered and mixed with villagers.

"It is important that the commissioner of refugees takes the initiative to create camps that would make it impossible for the refugees to mix with villagers, he said.

There are presently about 11,000 refugees in various villages in the province according to figures given by Zambia Red Cross sources but more are still coming.

Mr Banda said that the refugees fled because there was no protection at the borders after Fingwe and Chiuta further south in Mozambique. The situation was the same on the Zambian side and lack of protection posed dangers for villagers.

"It is fairly quiet at the present time, but the influx might resume when MNR soldiers step up their attacks after the rains," he said.

District political secretary Mr Mark Shinga said no district in the region had any specific camp for the refugees otherwise they would all have been accommodated there.

The refugees are presently engaged in agricultural activities and some own head of cattle which they came with while escaping from Tete Province in Mozambique.

A two-hour tour of some of the villages in Petauke and Katete areas last week revealed that there are isolated cases of refugees wishing to return to their homeland — most of them were very happy to be here.

Limited Banda of Kaweruzi village in Mancheula region said he and his family have been in Zambia since around August last year. They came from Kalata village in Mozambique, when they learnt that

"some soldiers" were closing in.

Limited did not know his age, but looked to be in his late twenties. He said he and his friends were happy and did not dream of going back home even after the FRELIMO-MNR clashes ended. The children at this village are not yet going to school.

Mancheula has 800 refugees, but reports from a volunteer who distributes supplies indicate the figure may be over 1,000.

At Mutole there are 1,185 refugees in 23 villages. Mrs Atelesi Phiri in her late sixties said, "I and my husband are here with our five children. We do a bit of farming and are happy with bits of relief food that we receive"

While Zambian authorities would like to see the refugees grouped in ca-

mps, the refugees themselves did not want to change their circumstances.

An elderly woman met along the border with her two children said she had been in the bush in Petauke for years. She apparently came in with other relatives who hid and started farming when the MNR began its offensive after Mozambique won its independence.

She and those relatives were once registered but had not received any relief until a week ago. From her home village of Genda, Chimbwala in Mozambique, she came to Kawaza village in Zambia.

"My cousin was killed as we were going to collect maize from the fields back home in Mozambique. That is how we came here. I and my husband did a lot of farming here before we broke up.

Represented on the tour were World Vision International, Red Cross International, Saint Francis Hospital and the **Zambia Daily Mail**.

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CSO: 3400/1544

MOZAMBICAN REFUGEE CAMP LIFE DETAILED

Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 31 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Charles Kachikoti]

[Text] The estimated 11,000 refugees in Katete, Petauke and Luangwa are on the whole simple and straightforward people. They depend on agriculture, for their livelihood and many of them have farms either in Zambia or across the border in Mozambique.

Most of the villages where they have mixed with Zambian relatives are within two kilometres of the border, making it possible for them to return to their homeland once in a while to check on their crops.

The refugees are in areas covering a 10km radius in 18 relief centres spread in Luangwa, Chadiza, Katete, Petauke and Nyimba. It is however, rare to find exclusively refugee villages. There are few examples like Kaombwe one of the oldest refugee residential areas, where refugees own mud-brick houses.

Well known organisations such as International Committee of the Red Cross, World Vision International, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, World Food Programme, Zambia Air Force and the Save the Children Fund are involved in maintaining the refugees in one way or another.

The refugees were forced to flee into Zambia around August last year and their numbers have swelled since then. Their accounts of their flight from Moza-

mbique differ widely with what may be commonly believed.

None of those interviewed in Katete and Petauke areas accused the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) of attacking their villages and forcing them out. They blamed the government soldiers of causing the exodus by allegedly murdering villagers and plundering their property.

An elderly woman met along the border road in Chikomo, Chief Nyauje, in Petauke, said: "The Renamos (meaning MNR soldiers) came to our villages respectfully, seeking food and cattle to slaughter for their groups were large. We helped them. The Frelimos came to kill people, saying 'You help these other soldiers and leave us suffering'. They killed those who owned kraals especially."

The elderly refugee, from Genda village in Chimbwala area, said she and others walked all the way, "hiding, sleeping on the way with our children." They all came totally naked as soldiers they claimed to belong to Frelimo had taken away their clothes, money and cooking pots.

Sons of the likes of Limited Banda of Kaweruzi village in Mancheula said they fled even before they could distinguish who their attackers were.

"Whatever the case, the MNR soldiers are understood to be still lurking around Tete Province where the villagers once lived. The most recent influx of refugees was caused by an advance army of rebel soldiers out of a larger team pounced on several villages.

The proximity of the refugees to their homeland poses a few problems for

the Red Cross. At Chikomo Primary School, the volunteer there (handling distribution of relief to refugees) reported that some Mozambicans crossed over into Zambia to receive food-stuffs and later returned home.

Red Cross director of relief distribution in Eastern and Luangwa regions Mr Mark Nkolomba said during a tour of the areas that investigations were to be carried out to verify the reports.

The picture is quite the same at Kaweruze village, Mancheula. Edward Mwale, a Zambian, son of a village headman said: "We are happy because these people have escaped death and have come to Zambia. But some of the refugees are thieves. They get supplies and take them to Mozambique to give relatives and Renamos."

The refugees are against the idea of being regrouped as they are glad to be near Zambians in small groups and feel more secure. Mr Mwale, 40, agrees with them on that point, adding with a chuckle: "Don't take them away. They have many cows."

A teacher handling relief distribution at Mancheula Primary School, around which 800 refugees live, said: "Refugees come now and again to register. Some claim to be on transfer from other refugee centres, but I always tell them to register first with ward councillors."

He gave an example of how one refugee from Chief Katumba's Village who claimed to be on transfer to Mancheula. The refugee was sent back for lack of proof. The story is the same at Mutobe, and the volunteer there said he has on occasions had to refrain from accepting refugees for the limited supplies of food.

Some villages have hundreds of refugees but some, such as Kankhomba in Katete, have as few as six families.

In Luangwa, the Kamowa refugee camp has about 600 refugees. District executive secretary Mr Joseph Muuma said he has heard that they are now around 1,000 of them due to new-comers. Some refugees whose affairs were not quickly sorted out when they arrived in October last year went back home, he said.

Since the camp is near the border, the refugees make visits to their homeland to check on the farms they left behind. As they are now harvesting, they return with crops.

"Their fear is that if they go and settle back home again, they may be bombed," said Mr Muuma.

The Luangwa District Council in conjunction with other bodies now aims at organising those of the refugees who are teachers by profession to educate the children in the camp. This however, depends on how long the refugees will be in camp as "I've heard they may be sent to Mahaba camp in North-Western province."

Medically they are doing fine, seeing that they are regularly visited by medical staff. Many of the refugees share tribal affinities with the local Chikunda and mix freely. Some are even married to Zambians now.

The view of district governor for Katete Mr Zongani Banda is that the refugees have increased starvation and the people in the region are complaining.

"Our people complain about starvation due to these people. They are not interested in specific camps as they have their own

cattle and goats and want to look after them. Mozambican government representatives have been here to see them but only a few show up. They hide away when their stay here seems threatened."

The coming of the Mozambican refugees into Zambia may in many ways be a blessing in disguise for Zambians. The Petauke district council in league with the Save the Children's Fund is to sink a number of boreholes and wells in all the areas where refugees live. The departure of the refugees at any future time will leave the structures to villagers.

Officer-in-charge for water affairs Mr Donald Chiwama said that places such as Chikalaba Primary School, Mwanjabantu Clinic, Mtukuzi Primary School and Chikomo Primary School and village are among scheduled points. The Save the Children's Fund has earmarked K1.5 million for the project.

Most wells used by the refugees (such as those at old Mwanjabantu or Kabungwe where the refugees have their own village) have no windlasses, chains, buckets and covers. They need cement slabs, and uprights. Most of the boreholes were in the past equipped with handpumps but the pumps are now damaged.

There will be fresh wells dug as refugees drink impure water in most cases.

"They will have to take part too as this is self-help. We will ask local people and some of the refugees' relatives, to help out. We must see to it that the people have pure water but it is not fair to give it to them freely," Mr Chiwama said.

Old Mwanjabantu, where wells are in poor condition,

is a place where 2,400 refugees came with livestock. There is a dam there, but part of the spillway has been washed away and needs to be reconstructed.

New pit latrines are on the way. Work was scheduled to begin last week. They will be pit latrines with a more modern approach — a slab, pipe at the rear (to remove odours) and a screen at its mouth (to stop flies). Mr Chiwama said that the latrines and other facilities would remain with Zambians once the refugees left. The project will span over 80 kms.

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CSO: 3400/1544

POLITICAL ROLE OF INKATHA MOVEMENT EXAMINED

MB171826 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1930 GMT 16 Apr 86

[Video recorded report by Andre le Roux presented by Freek Robinson on the "Network" program--live]

[Text] [Robinson] The Inkatha movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has recently come strongly to the fore as a very real factor in South African politics. The movement plays a leading role in the KwaNatal indaba, which resumes again this week in its search for a regional political solution for the province. On 1 May Inkatha will establish its own trade union. Inkatha has been accused of being a front for Zulu imperialism, while others see the organization as a stabilizing force in the turbulent black politics. Andre le Roux of our political staff has prepared this analysis of Inkatha.

[Begin video] [le Roux] Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement appear regularly under the political spotlight, and many--black as well as white--share the view that somewhere along the South African political road some sort of political middle ground will have to be found between the Zulus--and therefore Inkatha--and other black moderates and the whites. This has already been manifested by the Natal indaba in Durban. But what is Inkatha? How broad a power base does it have, and how does it operate?

The national cultural liberation movement, known as Inkatha ye Sizwe, was established by the chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in 1975. Chief Buthelezi, who himself had been a leading member of the ANC, formed the movement as a direct result of the government's decision to declare the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] illegal organizations, when the leaders of these two organizations went into voluntary exile or found themselves on Robben Island.

[Buthelezi, in English] After the ANC and the PAC were banned, then really there was no organization, political organization, which tried to tackle the national issues in this country on behalf of blacks. So when I visited President Kaunda in Zambia, he in fact mentioned this to me, that it was important, you know, to mobilize people so that they can express themselves as a cohesive force.

[le Roux] President Kaunda had a considerable influence on the creation of Inkatha, and the Inkatha constitution is closely based on the model of that

of Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party. Although it was and still is his goal to draw black people into a single political organization, disregarding ethnic boundaries, it was his national heritage, his direct relationship with the Zulu royal house, and the fact that his chieftainship, after that of the king, is the most important and most powerful in Zululand, which provided his power base. Today the core of his power base in the Zulu nation, and his seat in the legislative assembly of KwaZulu at Ulundi, where every member is also a member of the top leadership of Inkatha, and failed to destroy my political career, then all the ganging-up efforts against Inkatha and myself that are being orchestrated, and all the noises, the cacophony of noises, that are coming from Lusaka, will not in fact intimidate me, and they will come to naught.

[le Roux] Inkatha's power and its place in South African politics is directly attributed to its solid structure--from ground level up through a strict hierarchy to its president, Chief Buthelezi--a structure which, at any time, in terms of its effectiveness, can be compared with the best that white politics has to offer. Inkatha has grown from a mere 100 members at its first meeting in 1975 to a paid-up membership of 1.15 million today. Its membership is divided into three parts. The Inkatha youth brigade has 438,000 members, its women's brigade 329,000, and a general membership of 323,000. Within these groups, its members are organized into more than 2,000 branches countrywide, which report directly to its general congress, which last year had 12,000 delegates. Every 5 years, the general congress elects its president and appoints a central committee which makes policy decisions between congresses.

Due to its rapid growth, a powerful inner circle, the Inner Council, was formed, to support the president on a day-to-day basis.

[Buthelezi, in English] Now, the Inner Council does not mean some kind of politburo. It actually makes it easier for me, in view of the fact that we have so many central committee members that, if there is a burning issue on which I feel I need guidance...[change of thought] I mean, the Inner Council is a smaller body, but still, the decisions of the Inner Council have got to be ratified by the central committee.

[le Roux] The top structure manifests itself in the KwaZulu legislative assembly and government, in the sense that the members of the Inkatha central committee are also mostly the members of the legislative assembly, and the Inner Council, with a few exceptions, function in the KwaZulu cabinet. On Inkatha's rigid structure, Chief Buthelezi said in 1978.

[Unidentified speaker, in English] Any branch chairman, in conflict with the women's brigade, the youth brigade, or the central committee, is like a sentry, indulging in drink or dagga [marijuana] while guarding a side entrance of Inkatha. Any regional chairman who is working for his own political eminence and thwarts the desires of the people and the central committee is like a sentry asleep in his box at the main gate. Any central committee member who is negligent in his duties and does not discharge the high trust placed in him is like a captain gambling while his troops are left at the mercies of an invading force. Any chairman of the central committee's subcommittees who

does not bend his every fiber to the task he has been given is like the keeper of an arsenal who allows his weapons to go rusty with disuse. Inkatha is the house of the people.

[le Roux] However, Inkatha should not be seen within the limits of the white definition of a political party. Inkatha has officially affiliated trade unions, farmers unions, chambers of commerce, teachers unions, nursing unions, and sports unions. For example, regarding trade unions, for an example, Inkatha does not hesitate, despite questions about the legality, to act in direct opposition to, for example, the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]. On 1 May, May Day, COSATU and Inkatha will face each other directly in the labor field when COSATU holds its own first and largest gathering in Durban since its inception, and Inkatha, on the same day, launches its own United Workers Union, also in Durban.

[Buthelezi, in English] Long before COSATU was set up, I had heard that a big trade union movement was going to be set up, and that its thrust would be anti-Inkatha, it would adopt an anti-Inkatha stance, even before they emerged. So, when they emerged, in fact, they were very impatient to show this as well, because Mr Elijah Barayi, their president, attacked me on the spot, there and then, and members of Inkatha came here to Ulundi complaining about this, because they did not quite agree, because they were members of the trade union COSATU. Many of our own members are members of COSATU, because they are workers, and we encourage them to join trade unions. But then, you know, at the same time it was clear that COSATU had been got at by the ANC through the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and therefore was the puppet of the ANC.

[le Roux] With its youth brigade forming its largest component, it is clear that Inkatha is establishing itself among the school-going youth. Inkatha's syllabus for good citizenship is used in KwaZulu's schools in handbook form. [Switches to English] Mr Kumalo, it has often been alleged that Inkatha doctrine is taught and in effect forced down in schools. Is that correct?

[Zakhele Kumalo, Inkatha senior adviser, in English] I could give you a categorical no. That is not correct. I think what people are doing, they are confusing the teaching of the subject of good citizenship in schools which does not deal with Inkatha alone, but because we are actually sponsoring the teaching of that then we have got to get the (?flack) that we are actually ramming down the doctrine of Inkatha in schools, which is not true. In fact we have right here some of the material that we use which form part of the good citizenship syllabus. Now you will see from the title that this "Ubuntu Botho," ubuntu stands for humanism in Zulu and botho is the Sesotho for the same thing. We are a broad-based organization so hence we have our title in both of the main black languages in the country. A brief look at a manual like this one will tell you that, for instance, the first section will deal with Inkatha, what its constitution is like, how it helps, and then the second section will deal with the history of the black people in South Africa, and that has nothing to do with Inkatha as such. It is the history of the struggle in South Africa from 1912. Inkatha was only established in 1975, and this whole section--Inkatha only goes up to page 3 as you can see--and this whole

section deals with people like Mr (Anton Mzwake Limbethe), Chief A.J. Luthilu, the famous Nobel Prize winner, and I go on and on. This has nothing to do with Inkatha. The only problem is we are sponsoring. That is maybe why some of those people say that we are ramming Inkatha doctrine down the throats of our children. Maybe you can base it on that. But then I say we have a right just like any other organization to initiate things like this. It shouldn't be held against us.

[le Roux, in English] Could you briefly outline what a child at school is taught about Inkatha and is he examined on it?

[Kumalo, in English] Now as I explained on this subject of good citizenship, naturally Inkatha would feature because it also forms part of the contents of the material that is taught to the child, but this is not dealing with Inkatha specifically. It is just by the way that Inkatha features in that. The only contact we have as Inkatha with schools is when we send our organizers out to schools to explain Inkatha generally, the aims and objects of Inkatha, and one other point I want to stress is that we don't do that with the intention of actually or not with the expectation that all the kids at that school will join Inkatha. You know, we have branches in most of our schools and our branches don't comprise all of the population of those schools. We have other kids who don't join but those who join, as soon as they are more than 30 then they are enough to form our branch in that particular school. It is up to the organizers who are doing the job in those schools and it just ends there.

[le Roux] One of the main points of criticism against Inkatha is its apparent ability to organize itself militarily against its political and other enemies. Chief Buthelezi does not apologize for this because since Shaka's days the Zulu nation organized itself into regiments.

[Buthelezi, in English] You see the Zulu people as Zulu people have had a regimental system because the Zulu people, of course, as you know, were set up by King Shaka along military lines. So the society in KwaZulu as such is based on regimental groups. What I mean is that for a certain age group, it was the king's prerogative to divide people into age groups that people who are of a certain age, people of a certain age, belong to this regimental group and they are given a name. Now, glibly now, because the Zulus as such are people who fight and so on have now tended to say that they are Inkatha impis [warrior regiments] because here in Natal in the KwaZulu-Natal area if you want to go to any wedding you find people carrying sticks and shields even if it is a wedding you know, because the Zulus were built on the basis of that system, but it has nothing to do with Inkatha. But then our political detractors and our enemies have built up this image. Even abroad, I find when I travel abroad that Inkatha has got impis and we have no impis, in fact, because the regiments, in fact, belong to the king. It is true, of course, that traditionally I am the commander-in-chief of the Zulu regiments, myself. It has nothing to do with Inkatha, in fact, and I have never used that position, in fact, to mix it up with my position as president of Inkatha. You know at the time when there was unrest in the greater Durban area, I did call a special caucus meeting of the assembly because many members of the assembly are central committee members. I asked them to go to the greater Durban area or to exercise leadership there. What I meant then was that there was [word indistinct]

branches of Inkatha in Umlazi, in KwaMashu to mobilize ordinary people. For me that was exercising leadership, to mobilize people to try and quell the unrest. In fact, I think that it was acknowledged throughout South Africa that Inkatha had exercised leadership there and had in fact managed to quell what was getting out of hand.

[le Roux, in English] Circumstances then do arise where Inkatha as Inkatha does take strong even military action to [words indistinct].

[Buthelezi, in English] Well I wouldn't call it military action but I have always said, you know, Mr le Roux, that people must not misunderstand us. When I say that we are committed to peaceful change and that we use the strategy of nonviolence, I really mean that we are committed to that all my life, but I have also said that it is an inalienable right of members of Inkatha to defend themselves, and that people must not think that we are going to be a pushover for anyone.

[le Roux] For centuries it has been a Zulu political style and in 1978, according to Chief Buthelezi, he applied Shaka's pincer formation to Inkatha's present strategy.

[Unidentified speaker, in English] I am mindful these days of the experience of our forefathers in this part of South Africa. I am particularly mindful of the pincer movement used so effectively by King Shaka. I see Inkatha's strategy in the task which faces us in the struggle for liberation as being the integration of all those fronts which have from time to time moved forward and retreated. I see the task of Inkatha as coordinating a disciplined and coherent march forward in which every sector of resistance is supported by every other sector. And in this vision I see the women and the youth of Inkatha acting as the pincers.

[le Roux] Inkatha is thus deeply involved in the daily lives of the black man especially in Natal. The organization is based on the principles of more than two centuries' history of tradition, of proud military victories which had caused panic among practically every black nation in southern Africa. In short, Inkatha's sentiments lie in African nationalism, a nationalism equal to that of the Afrikaner. But just as Afrikaner nationalism has its enemies, so too has Inkatha. There is no doubt that Inkatha, despite its control of the Natal black community, is engaged in a battle for survival with other well-organized bodies such as the ANC and the United Democratic Front. Inkatha's place and its role in the South African political scene cannot be disregarded.

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CSO: 3400/1567

DEPUTY MINISTER SPEAKS ON STATUTORY COUNCIL

MB211335 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1334 GMT 21 Apr 86

[Text] Seshego, Lebowa, April 21, SAPA--The envisaged National Statutory Council, which would afford black leaders the opportunity to participate in decision-making at the highest level, represented "one step already accomplished on the way to permanent power-sharing," the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr P.J. Badenhorst, said today.

Mr Badenhorst, who was opening the Fourth Session of the Fourth Lebowa Legislative Assembly at Seshego, said the state president had invited black leaders, "in particular also the leaders of the self-governing states, to negotiate with him on the establishment and objectives of the council."

"The process of negotiations is now entering a phase in which it will become more visible. It is not enough, however, that mere lip service be paid to the principle of negotiation," Mr Badenhorst said.

"Hence the need for those that believe in it to make a choice soon on participation and what is to be made of the possibilities presented by the council."

The republic and Lebowa had many things in common "and we must tackle our similar and shared problems as challenges and carry them through to solution."

"At stake here are issues that closely concern your and our progress and future in this country," Mr Badenhorst said.

"Good cooperation will undoubtedly greatly increase our chances of success. All of us present here are aware that certain factors are at present causing troubled relations between Lebowa and the South African Government. This is something we cannot evade.

"It is unfortunate that this is the case, all the more so in view of the fact that today we face a common threat, a threat that is not particular about its targets.

"In my opinion, it is essential that further discussions be conducted on the problems in our relations--we cannot simply leave things hanging in the air.

"If we talk about these problems we may find it possible to resolve them.

"I trust that this legislative assembly will be prepared to contribute to the normalization of relations so that we may through good cooperation succeed with what has to be done in the interests of our common future in this country," Mr Badenhorst said.

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CSO: 3400/1564

COMMENTARY DEFENDS GOVERNMENT'S REFORM PROGRAM

MB230733 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0545 GMT 23 Apr 86

[Station Commentary]

[Text] As with the removal of discrimination in sport, no one in the country can still be suffering from the delusion that the outside world will one day be satisfied with the scope and pace of political and constitutional reform in South Africa. This has been underlined again by the remarks of Mr Willy Brandt, another overseas politician who has used and abused South Africa in the interests of his political fortunes at home. The familiar bleat of not enough or too little too late in describing political reforms simply cannot be allowed to dissuade moderate South Africans from their goal of negotiating a new and just dispensation for all.

There is encouragement in the fact that for everyone abroad who derides the process of political reform in South Africa there are people of greater influence who have a better understanding of the issues and of the significance of the various steps being taken along the way. President Reagan of the United States, while often stating his abhorrence of apartheid, has spoken of the reformist government of President Botha. British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said recently that the present South African Government had taken more steps to start the process of dismantling apartheid than any of its predecessors. And American Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, is on record as saying that there has been more reform in South Africa in the past 4 years than in the previous 30.

By any standards, the achievements along the road of political reform in this country have been very substantial. South Africa's foreign debt mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, classified them as a hell of a program. Only the ignorant or devious will find fault with that assessment. Fundamental change has occurred, and is continuing, in every facet of South African life, from sport, recreation and public amenities to work, education and politics. South Africa today is a vastly different country from what it was only a few short years ago. While the reforms do not offer final solutions in themselves there is no doubt that they are leading to a freer society far better placed to eventually arrive at those solutions.

Despite the unprecedented change in South Africa, however, outside condemnation continues--mainly from the leftist-dominated media and opposition politicians

who can see no further than one man, one vote majority rule. They are not interested in the fact that none of the country's peoples forms a majority, and that the protection of the various minority groups therefore has to be assured in any eventual constitutional dispensation.

Again, fortunately, there are those abroad who appreciate the complexities of the South African situation and the difficulties in coming to grips with it. One such person is British writer, Bruce Anderson, who put it this way in an article in THE SPECTATOR: The vehemence of the international condemnation of South Africa could only be justified if there were an obvious solution to the country's problems, and its implementation were prevented solely by the intransigence of the government.

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CSO: 3400/1564

NETWORK DISCUSSES BLACK-ON-BLACK VIOLENCE

MB210624 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1900 GMT 17 Apr 86

[Discussion between Louis Nel, deputy minister of information, and Professor Tjaart van der Walt, rector of Potchefstroom University in Cape Town, Tom Boya, deputy president of the Urban Council's Association of South Africa [UCASA], and Ken Owen, editor of BUSINESS DAY in Johannesburg, moderated by John Bishop with an introduction by Michelle Alexander on the "Network" program--live with video inserts]

[Text] [Alexander] Good evening. In tonight's program we will be looking at the issue of black-on-black violence and related matters. Our guests in the studio are Mr Louis Nel, deputy minister of information, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, rector of Potchefstroom University, Mr Ken Owen, editor of BUSINESS DAY, and Mr Tom Boya, deputy president of UCASA. But first let's take a look at this brief report which includes some disturbing scenes.

[Bishop] July 1985--Duduza in the Transvaal--Miss (Maki Skosana), a victim of black violence. The Anglican archbishop elect of Southern Africa, Desmond Tutu, has condemned violence.

[Begin Tutu video] Being burnt to death. You know that it was shown right around the world. If we use methods such as the one that we saw in Duduza, then my friends I am going to collect my family and leave a country that I love very deeply. [end video]

[Bishop] The present wave of unrest in black-on-black violence began in September 1984 and official sources reveal that in the period between January and 15 April this year, 211 blacks died at the hands of blacks, many as a result of the so-called necklace method of incineration. During the same period, 720 homes and 228 businesses were destroyed or damaged by arson, and 149 blacks died as a result of action by the security forces. Another aspect of black-on-black violence is the emergence of so-called vigilantes in urban and rural areas. As was widely reported, Mrs Winnie Mandela has this to say at a public meeting in South Africa recently:

[Begin Mandela video] We have no arms. We have stones, we have boxes of matches, we have [words indistinct]. With our necklaces we shall liberate this country. I am back with you. [end video]

[Bishop] The quotes have received widespread condemnation from individuals and the media, including THE TIMES of London. Yesterday according to the Johannesburg STAR newspaper, Mrs Mandela criticized the media for what was described as its hysterical reaction to her comments. We would like to put the first question to Mr Louis Nel in Cape Town. Mr Nel, I know you have commented publicly on Mrs Winnie Mandela's words. Is there not a possibility, as I think was reported by a press agency, that she did not mean what she said? I think it was said that she denied that she had endorsed violence publicly. What are your comments on that?

[Nel] I have personally satisfied myself from verified reports published in Australia, England, and America, and also I have checked the news agencies' reports on this speech and I have satisfied myself that she was being correctly reported and she has not been reported out of context. What she did was to make a call for violence, but not only violence against the government and not only violence against the white community, but with her reference to the necklace, her necklace reference, she surely made a call for further violence by black against black. We know that the necklace is the method by which blacks are being murdered by radicals. We know that they put a tire around the body of a victim, then fill it with petrol and they set it alight. The necklace has become the code word--the word necklace has become a code word for the death sentence, a violent death.

[Bishop] Mr Nel, what I was really asking was, is there no possibility of there being political rhetoric even at a high and unacceptable level?

[Nel] After I had issued a statement on Monday condemning what she had said and also indicating in the statement that I satisfied myself that she was not reported out of context, she was asked, according to newspaper reports published the following day, whether she was reported out of context and her reaction was no comment. So I accept 100 percent that she was correctly recorded. The necklace means one thing--you can ask any black person in the township what the word necklace--it means violent death by radicals, it is a method of killing other blacks.

[Bishop] Thank you for that. And we now move to Prof Tjaart van der Walt. Prof van der Walt, I know you have made a study of what I would call the roots of violence, particularly black violence in this country. What briefly did you discover?

[van der Walt] There are various reasons for this violence. We shouldn't blame the agitator for everything, though it is clearly evident that with his intimidation, with the atrocious methods, he is a very powerful factor, but at the same time without condoning violence whatsoever, one should bear in mind that there are legitimate grievances and we should be proactive [as heard] and as the government I believe has been trying to do, we should solve those problems and then the agitator won't have any grip on the people.

[Bishop] Tom Boya, what are these grievances would you say mentioned by Prof van der Walt?

[Boya] The grievances are quite a lot as they have actually, you know, been mentioned in the past by people, and I think at this very moment...[changes thought] I mean the people have actually put it very clear what is actually their stand. And I would say the very, very first main grievance which I like to put across is when it comes to, you know, the apartheid laws which we still have in this country, which have not yet been addressed. [sentence as heard] There is quite a lot which has actually happened in the past few months with the announcements which have actually come from the state president of this country and some of his cabinet ministers, but he hasn't actually addressed the main grievances which the people have. If I may just mention a few very briefly. Like for instance, he hasn't said anything about the Population Registration Act, which determines a person the minute you are born. You are... [changes thought] the day you are born, if you have got to go into that register, your destiny is already there. You are either a white or black whatever and things like that are actually outdated. The question of the Group Areas Act...[changes thought] but all those things, the people like for instance which are still behind bars, people like Mr Nelson Mandela, for instance, who has not yet been released, and all political prisoners who have not yet been released in this country. I think all that has got to be addressed. The question of...[changes thought] you know organizations that are there which have got to be unbanned, and this is a very, very strong feeling amongst black people that those organizations must be unbanned so that we can at least have some way where a new South Africa can be found. [sentence as heard]

[Bishop] But taking it that...[changes thought] let's accept that reform is underway, I mean, can anything justify this kind of level of violence? Can we just go to Ken Owen and come back to you perhaps? Ken?

[Owen] John, I find it perturbing that we are discussing the whole issue in utterly one-sided terms. I don't want to rake over old grievances but Biko's death, Aggett's death, the use of whips and birdshot--all of these contribute at least to the climate of violence which has been developing. And neither side, I think, appropriately can do what Minister Louis Nel has just done and try to put the entire blame on the other side. I think that violence is overtaking this country. It is eliminating our options. It is determining our future and it's root causes lie in massive misgovernment over a very long period of time, including such assaults on people as the arrest annually of 200,000 people for not having the right piece of paper. I don't want to speak for black people, but their problem basically is that they do not have liberty or justice in this country and have not had it ever, and we are addressing periphery of the problem and unless we move to the central issue and do so quickly we are going to find ourselves in the same cycle as Algeria, where the violence by people like Mrs Mandela and her supporters--I am not surprised by Mrs Mandela, the ANC believes in violence, ok so she is saying what her organization says--but people like Mrs Mandela are going to provoke counter-violence from young policemen who are going to be caught in situations where they are frightened or tired or overstressed and they are going to...[changes thought] one of them is going to shoot--and then you have a situation like Langa at Oudtshoorn last year. The cycle is what must be broken and this blame laying, I think is wicked.

[Bishop] Alright, Mr Nel, this is your cue to come in I think.

[Nel] Thank you very much. I hope that I am wrong in saying that Mr Owen sounds like an apologist for the violence committed by the ANC. I hope I am wrong in saying that.

[Owen, interrupting] You are indeed, very much so.

[Nel] But the point of the matter is that Mr Owen tries to give reasons for the violence that we are experiencing at the moment. Let us look at the commitment of the South African Government. The commitment of the South African Government is one to further reform, and I stress further reform. We have had a whole process of reform over many years. The government has committed itself to negotiations to bring about a constitutional dispensation which will satisfy the aspirations of all. The government has stretched out a hand of friendship to all the black people of this country, and particularly an invitation to negotiation. But what is the ANC doing? The ANC is committed to a revolution. The ANC is committed to a total change in South Africa, to change this society to a Marxist-socialist dominated one through violence.

[Boya, interrupting] I want to come in there. Has your government spoken to the ANC? I mean a lot of people in this country who have actually gone abroad to Lusaka accepted to go and speak to the ANC. What has the government done to show that it is prepared to speak to the ANC?

[Nel] Ok, let's look at the facts. The first fact is that the ANC doesn't want to speak to the South African Government.

[Boya, interrupting] How do you know this?

[Nel] We know that. The ANC has said so many times. Secondly, the ANC does not want to bring about a democracy in this country. They want to gain--they want as a minority radical group to gain control of the country, and I think the time has come Mr Boya for all of us to really face the facts. We must really listen to what the ANC is saying. We must read what they are writing and we will know, and you know and I know and we must believe that they believe what they are saying. What they want to do in this country is to bring about a revolution. They want to seize power. They do not want to share power. They do not want to negotiate for power. They are committed to violence. But the South African Government, on the other side, its position is completely reversed. The South African Government is committed to peaceful reform in this country. Why cannot we stand together on this. Why cannot all of us make an appeal to black leaders of this country to come together with the government and to negotiate.

[Boya, interrupting] Unban the ANC, then you will get the answers. If you unban the ANC you know what will...[break in transmission]

[Nel] ...Communist party I think that is reasonable and I think you in all probability would agree with me.

[van der Walt] May I come in?

[Bishop] Yes, I was going to call you in actually. Professor, do come in now.

[van der Walt] I think charity begins at home and instead of discussing the matter with the ANC let's discuss it as Christians in South Africa. Violence doesn't condone violence, and there is no sense at all blaming each. As an Afrikaner, my duty, my responsibility, is to press on my society, you see. If we see that there is injustice, and there is, let's clear it up as soon as possible. And at the same time I expect from my black fellow Christians, for at least 77 percent of our population are Christians, to do the same and say [as heard] the way of the Lord, the way of love, not the way of violence.

[Bishop] Can we look at some, let's say basic, facts and address this to the minister now. Mr Nel, is it that there is a level of violence, let's say, comprised of people who could not stop being violent? I mean is that the assessment? Is there a group in that category?

[Nel] My assessment, the government's assessment, is that violence is being instigated in South Africa. If the ANC would change its commitment and if people who are trained as terrorists would stop coming into this country and instigate people and intimidate people to commit violence, black and white South Africans would be able to sit around the table and solve their own problems. But it is very important that we must stop the intimidation. The root of the problem is the intimidation that has been taking place, and we have seen it in the figures that you have quoted in the beginning of this program. These figures show clearly that the number of deaths as a result of police action in the protection of life and property is much less than the number of people killed in black-on-black violence. There has been a tremendous escalation of black-on-black violence in South Africa. Now if Mr Boya, if Mr Owen, all these gentlemen are right, can they explain to me why is there such a very alarming escalation in the black-on-black violence, and this is what we are here to talk about. Why the escalation of black-on-black violence? I want to say this. It has got nothing to do with government policies. It has got nothing to do with apartheid or anything like that. It has got to do with the commitment of the ANC, Communist-manipulated as it is, to control the population because they do not have widespread support in this country, and they cannot achieve the support in any other way, in a democratic way, and they want to gain control of the country, over the people of this country, the black people in particular, through intimidation.

[Bishop] Tom Boya, there is a question from the deputy minister there. Why is there escalating violence? What is the reason?

[Boya] Yes, I want to react to that and I actually don't agree with the deputy minister in what he says.

[Bishop, interrupting] What, that there is no escalating violence?

[Boya] No, no, I agree with him that violence is escalating. It has been escalating all along.

[Nel, interrupting] With black-on-black.

[Bishop] But what is the reason?

[Boya] Well, black-on-black, right. But he says that actually government has got nothing to do with it. Government has got all to do with it. I mean if we look at it, when, actually when the violence started, when it started in the Vaal, where were the problems? The problems were actually with the black local authorities. The people were dissatisfied when they actually had to pay extra rentals. Some of us would be dead today if we did not retract from our previous stand whereby we wanted to increase rates and up to now we haven't touched those rates because the grievances which have been there have not yet been sorted out. And now because this has actually happened it has now...[changes thought] this has sort of snowballed. It started in one area. From the Vaal where did it go to? It went to the Eastern Cape. It came to the Transvaal, in the East Rand, etc, and it went throughout the country. As it is now it is even going into the homelands. Look at what actually happened recently in Lebowa, where, actually, 32 people were necklaced. Whether we like it or not, people today claim that it is witchcraft, but let's be...

[Nel, interrupting] Mr Boya, one quick remark. Surely that has got nothing to do with rentals or anything like that. The deaths in Lebowa have got nothing to do with this. There is another reason for black-on-black violence, and Mr Boya, we are reasonable people, let's face the facts please.

[Owen] Let me say I don't think that we have a right to be naive about the violence and the minister is not a naive man. We know that violence is used in revolutionary situations in order to intimidate the population to support the revolution. Now we face a prerevolutionary situation in the country. I have very few quarrels with the minister's assessment of the ANC's goals and aims and purposes. I doubt that its control is as complete as he suggests it is. But that doesn't seem to me to be the issue at all. The issue is whether he wants the ANC to solve the problems of this country, as he is now suggesting they must first renounce violence, they must do this, they must do that, they must stop being intimidators, they must stop infiltrating, or whether he is willing to accept the responsibility and to admit that the failure of reform is measured by the violence in the townships. When his reform succeeds, when he has a politically accepted situation and a legitimacy for the whole government, the violence will no longer become sustainable no matter what the ANC does. The responsibility does really rest on the ANC, it rests on the government, and it is inadequate to that responsibility.

[Bishop] Before we go to the minister can I go to Tom Boya. I think you said plainly that because of the rent problem people started attacking each other and I presume killing. I mean is that how people behave because they have got a rent problem or financial problem? I mean, is that logical?

[Boya] The way I see it, you know, these people have been having grievances all along. Apparently nobody was prepared to listen to their grievances. I mean if you look at the rent problem, I mean where it actually starts, it doesn't just start because the Vaal for instance increased its rent by 5 rand. It started from what I said earlier on, I mean the question of blacks not being in a position to get freehold rights, for instance. All those things are very

important into the whole situation. People are saying, why should we pay rent. After all, it is something we don't own. It is quite pleasing now, I mean to hear the state president of this country saying that as from the 1 July, whatever the case might be, that people are actually going to own freehold, which of course won't be discriminatory. All this is because of apartheid. If the government scraps apartheid, things will get normal again.

[Bishop] Mr Nel, there are two major points raised, one by Ken Owen, and he asked you to address the whole question, I think that was the thrust of his question, and the second one from Tom Boya is essentially that he says black people generally are not being listened to. Could you try and answer those two please?

[Nel] I think that we would be bluffing ourselves when we think that with more and faster reforms we will solve the problems of violence in South Africa overnight. If we scrap all the apartheid measures in this country or what is perceived to be apartheid, or the government would change its policy completely, we will still have violence in this country because the ANC is controlled from outside South Africa, because the ANC is controlled by Communists who are in turn again manipulated from the USSR, and they want to gain control of this country. And if we want to stop violence in this country, this is the problem that we will have to assess. But I agree and I would like to say immediately: The government is committed to bring about a just political system in this country, a constitutional system in this country, the government is in favor of--not in favor of only--but really working hard towards the upliftment of all the communities in this country, and particularly the black and Asian and colored communities in this country. So we are working and we want hand in hand, but we cannot accelerate that process of reform and development if we have violence in this country. But the ANC has a vested interest in violence. The ANC has a vested interest in a nondevelopment of the communities of South Africa to have a situation that can be exploited. But as far as the government is concerned, you are pushing against an open door. We want to work hand in hand with all the communities, all the peoples of South Africa, to the maximum.

[Bishop] Right. I think there is a question there of information, and Ken Owen in one of your articles you mentioned that there should be more information, a fuller flow, bigger dialogue, open ended and so on and we will come to that, but can I just ask now what I think the Americans call a bread-and-butter question. We have violence here and the authorities have to stop it. So essentially, how do we stop it? Is it law and order, that phrase stops it first. [as heard] I mean is that the priority? People are killing each other. Tom Boya?

[Boya] No, I don't think law and order will solve the problem. I think it is a question of negotiating. We have got to start negotiating. We have got to start sitting down very seriously in South Africa and start talking to each other. Actually, I wanted to ask a question to the deputy minister. How about the question of Mr Nelson Mandela, which has actually not been properly addressed to the satisfaction of black people in this country? All sorts of things have been said that on humanitarian grounds he is going to be released, that with

some people in some other countries for their own sins which they have actually performed in those countries, if those people are released then he is going to be released. We would like to get a clear statement from the government. Are they prepared to release Mr Mandela? I mean Mr Mandela is regarded as the father of the nation, as the father of black people in this country. Organizations such as the RMC [Release Mandela Committee], you name it, they won't be existing if Nelson Mandela was released and, of course his colleagues.

[Bishop] Tom and Ken Owen can we just give the minister a couple of minutes to relax and assess the situation. We will now go to Prof Tjaart van der Walt. Prof Tjaart, please come in, and say a few words to us. Thank you.

[van der Walt] Yes. I think we are all agreed the future of South Africa is either revolution or reform. Nobody of us wants revolution so let us get on with reform, but then the point I would like to make is we shouldn't pass the buck. I think we shouldn't say the ANC should do this or the government should do that. What are we ordinary citizens, Christians, in South Africa doing? One of the greatest experiences I had in the Vaal Triangle investigation was the openmindedness of the people. They spoke to me clearly and with absolute frankness and if we could do that more on grassroot level, we needn't always start at the top but where we live as human beings next to each other, and we can establish a mutual spirit of common South Africanship, I don't have any doubt about the future but please let's not pass the buck to the government or speak about the ANC or Mandela before starting with charity begins at home.

[Bishop] Ken Owen?

[Owen] I would not disagree much with Prof van der Walt but the fact is that we all know without talking to anybody what needs to be done and the power to do that is not in the hands of the churches or of private enterprise or people like me who have chosen every opportunity in their lives to vote against the government; it is in the hands of the government. Once the government has eliminated--which it could do in the next session--the unjust measures which it put the statute book, then I think that we could go to black people and say, look, we have made a terrible mess of governing this country. Will you please help us to set it straight? And I have no doubt they will come forward in their millions to help us.

[Bishop] But Ken Owen, let me have a little go at you. I followed your articles with great interest, and I admire them if I may say so publicly, and you have a very deep sense of what is known as political theory. Do you really believe that when all the concessions are made then everybody will be happy. I mean government has to take certain great leaps in the dark does it not? I mean are you not talking about acts of faith and all that sort of thing?

[Owen] I am sorry I don't want to turn the whole discussion into broad politics, but we know what needs to be done in order to eliminate the major injustices, we know that at the end of that process, we shall have to negotiate with black people, and we know that at the end we will probably have to face

a continuing attempt to establish an anticapitalist revolution from elements of the ANC and from the SAP [South African Communist Party] and some of their allies. Now it seems to me that in that order, we should tackle the job. It begins with the government.

[Bishop] Mr Nel, have you had time to catch your breath.

[Nel] I think that Ken Owen is right in saying that at the end of the day, we should face an onslaught from a Communist attempt to bring about revolution in this country, but where he is wrong is that we are facing that onslaught now, and this is the reason for our difficulties and this is the reason why we have violence in this country and in the process people are being trained to commit violence and intimidation in this country.

[Owen] Prof van der Walt has just published a report which says that that is not the cause of the violence, and the cause of the violence in Sebokeng, in the report he published today, were the social conditions which existed there. Ask him now.

[Nel] The social conditions yes of course, are the exploitable situations in this country....

[Owen, interrupting] Ask him now.

[Nel] And if we want to eliminate violence surely we must address the social conditions of our country, but we must work together. And to do that, development and economic development and growth is an absolute necessity. But I would like to come back to what Mr Boya said. He asked me about Mandela. The government's position is that Mandela can be released tomorrow if he is prepared to renounce violence, but that is not really a condition. That is really asking from a man to express himself on a civilized norm—he is against violence as a method to achieve political aims. And so it is not the South African Government that is really at the moment jailing Mandela but he is jailing himself. And as far as I am concerned, as far as the government is concerned, we would look forward to the day that he would renounce violence, come forward, and play a part in the political process in this country.

[Boya] That is the same old story here. The government has been saying that all along.

[Nel] But don't you think it is a good point of view?

[Boya] No, no, I don't think so. Let the man free. Let him walk the streets of Soweto, and you will see what will happen. Nothing is going to happen. Instead, that can actually bring us to the negotiating table.

[Nel] Well we know what his wife is saying.

[Bishop] These signs mean 30 seconds gentlemen. Let's go quickly. I don't know how we are going to do it in 30 seconds to everybody. Starting off with Ken Owen. I know it has rambled a bit, but I think it has been quite interesting.

[Owen] I would make the additional point. I would like to see spiritual, moral, and political leaders of this country take an open stand against violence.

[Bishop] Ok. Tom Boya.

[Boya] The point I would like to make, social conditions which the deputy minister referred to. We need housing. Black people need houses in this country. We need jobs and that has got to be addressed as well.

[Bishop] Thank you. Tjaart van der Walt?

[van der Walt] Address the problems, address them as Christians, address as citizens, address them in a mutual way, and then instead of passing the buck, try to get your own people along, the Afrikaans people, to understand the grievances of the blacks, but the black leaders as well saying violence brings us nowhere, it brings us to disaster.

[Bishop] Thank you. Mr Nel?

[Nel] I agree with the concluding statements of all the other three participants. Let's come together and talk about the problems of South Africa. As blacks and whites, let's build a new future for our children.

[Bishop] Mr Minister, gentlemen, thank you very much. Before I go I think I have to say that we owe a debt of thanks to you, Tom, for coming from a very important meeting at a big hotel, which is why you are dressed that way. I would like the viewers to know that we have not insisted that our guests should be in dinner jacket, and from me, a very good night to you.

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BUTHELEZI WARNS AGAINST FAILURE OF INDABA

MB171856 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1750 GMT 17 Apr 86

[SAPA PR Wire Service; issued by: the chief minister's office, Ulundi]

[Text] Ladysmith, Thursday--The alternative to peaceful change for South Africa was a long drawn out civil war--probably lasting decades--and this would lead to ruined economy, starving people and every possibility of a dictatorship, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here tonight.

He warned that if the current KwaZulu/Natal indaba failed it would significantly reduce the already small chance for such peaceful change not only in the region but in the country as a whole.

If it succeeded, South Africa would owe it a tremendous debt of gratitude, the KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha president told the Ladysmith and District Chamber of Commerce.

He said the government would find it difficult to say no to whatever plan the indaba formulated if all the people of the region demonstrated their support for it.

But it would inevitably be opposed by those who wanted nothing less than change through violence.

Although it was unlikely that any indaba plan could be implemented directly in any other part of the country, it would have demonstrated that negotiation could work--and that would be no mean achievement in a country in which that possibility appeared regularly to have been disproved.

It would demonstrate the possibility of similar plans, given goodwill, being worked out in at least some other major regions.

More importantly, it would mean that such a negotiating process could work at a national level and reduce, if not eliminate, the tragic consequences of the path to which South Africa was currently committed.

Chief Buthelezi defined success for the indaba as the creation by it of a plan which, if implemented, would be so acceptable to the majority of people of

all groups in the region that they would agree voluntarily to take part in elections for a new regional body.

A successful indaba would create the base on which peace, co-operation and economic development could be achieved in KwaZulu/Natal.

The indaba plan, whatever it might be, would not be easy to implement. On the one hand, it would need government consent. However he believed the government would find it difficult to say no if the people of the region demonstrated their support for it.

On the other hand its introduction would inevitably be opposed by those who would accept nothing less than change brought about by violent means.

Chief Buthelezi said those who dismissed the indaba because they were not consulted in the drawing up of the plan were hopelessly misinformed. "There is no plan," he said. "The plan, if any, will be drawn up by the indaba. That is what the indaba is all about."

He said he wanted to clear up other misconceptions about the indaba. The suggestion that the introduction of a democratic system in KwaZulu/Natal was seen as an alternative to the introduction of a democratic system at central government was devoid of all truth.

Regional representation would, if anything, increase demands for participation at the center. Clearly the introduction of such a plan would be a stepping stone or "a peaceful facilitator" towards democracy at the center.

Two other criticisms were that the indaba would split an economically non-viable KwaZulu/Natal off from the rest of South Africa and that it was dominated by economic interests.

Chief Buthelezi pointed out that the two statements were contradictory. No capitalist would support the secession of an economically dependent region. In addition, it was clear that the region was as much a part of South Africa as KwaZulu and Natal were part of each other.

"There is no suggestion from anybody that Natal should secede or in any other way separate itself from the rest of the country," he said. "The indaba is about introducing a democratic system of provincial government in this part of South Africa."

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CSO: 3400/1565

ZULU KING CRITICIZES COSATU'S CALL FOR SANCTIONS

MB201258 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1039 GMT 20 Apr 86

[SAPA PR Wire Service; issued by: chief minister's office, Ulundi]

[Text] Vryheid, Sunday--The king of the Zulus today accused COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] of advocating suffering for black people by echoing the calls for sanctions against South Africa being made by organizations outside the country.

In a rare incursion into politics, King Goodwill Zwelithini called on all who opposed disinvestment to gather at Durban's Kings Park Stadium on May 1 for the inauguration of UWUSA--The United Workers Union of SA.

It was imperative for people who disagreed with the "wild suggestions that are being made to destroy the economy" to be there and to make their voices heard beyond the borders of South Africa.

Already there were not enough jobs for black school leavers. It would be suicidal to create an atmosphere in which there would be even less work for them, the king said at the opening of a community center named after him at Bhakuzulu Township near here.

Nearly a million citizens of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Mozambique were here not because they were impressed with apartheid but because their countries could not create jobs for them. This applied also to the so-called independent TBCV [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda] states.

King Goodwill said it was puzzling, therefore, when de jure citizens of the TBCV states were in the forefront of campaigns for disinvestment and sanctions, and he pointed out that COSATU President Mr Elijah Barayi was a Ciskeian.

The king said he was proud that Zulus had always been in the forefront of efforts to unite not only among themselves but with their fellow blacks. He was pained to read of Zulus being involved not only in Zulu faction fights but with other black brothers.

Nothing had pained him and his uncle, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, more than the recent violence involving Zulus and Pondos in the Mbumbulu area.

King Goodwill said that the president of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi, had fought battles for years to persuade the South African Government to allow his people to participate in the trade union movement, and this had finally materialized.

He regretted that, instead of being the expected unifying factor, trade unionism was being used by some trade unionists and organizers to create chasms between people.

"Our land was taken away from us after our conquest," he said. "And the land we (now) occupy is not enough to support us. This has made job creation a priority.

"And yet we now have organizations such as the Congress of SA Trade Unions which have declared themselves against multinational corporations continuing to operate here and who have stated that they want no further investment in South Africa."

Everyone had friends and family who were out of work because industries had either to retrench staff or close down.

"COSATU is advocating more suffering for our people when they echo what organizations that are operating in exile advocate, namely that sanctions should be imposed on South Africa," the Zulu king said.

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CSO: 3400/1565

MRS MANDELA SURPRISED AT 'HYSTERIA' OVER REMARKS

MB220837 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Langa Skosana]

[Text] Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress life prisoner Nelson Mandela, is surprised at the "hysteria" her comments about the use of "necklace" and "matches" to liberate blacks have generated among whites in South Africa and abroad.

She explained that "the government was engaged in acts of violence against the black masses in South Africa."

"I said we accept the challenge from Pretoria that the government has 'declared war' on the people of this country. The regime has taken the struggle to this stage.

"We have no means to defend ourselves. War has been declared defenceless and unarmed masses.

"We mine the wealth of this land and we man the industry of this country. We even bring up their children. We could have killed them if we wanted to.

"The country," said Mrs Mandela, "has suffered years of institutionalised violence which has led blacks to react in irrational ways like using matches and necklace."

Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign who interpreted while Mrs Mandela spoke at the weekend meetings, said he was "sickened by the media's response to Mandela's speech."

"I was interpreting her words and I know exactly what she said," Mr Mokoena said.

"The theme of her speech was based on the power of the workers. She referred to the workers in the mines and those that kept the wheels of industry running as the power to change the status quo," Mr Mokoena said.

He said it would be expected from the white press to agitate that the government should take action against Mrs Mandela.

Mrs Mandela said it was surprising that white racists of this country made inflammatory statements, even in Parliament, but there was no such hysteria about it.

It would appear, she said, some people want to interpret her speech to suit themselves.

Mrs Mandela's comments have been widely reported in South Africa and abroad.

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CSO: 3400/1565

BRIEFS

EVICTED FAMILIES RESETTLED ON FARM--House of Assembly, April 22, SAPA--A total of 200 of the families dumped in South Africa by Ciskei had already been permanently settled on SA Development Trust Farm No 842, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said today in reply to a question by E.K. Moorcroft (PFP [Progressive Federal Party] Albany). About 8,000 people had been "evicted" by Ciskei, he said. The remaining families were temporarily settled on Trust Farm No 863, about 30 kilometers from east London. Relief was being given to these people. There had been an objection to their presence from the East London Western District Farmers Association. The association had not been consulted prior to the people being moved to the area because the farms were consolidation land bought specifically for settlement by blacks. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1813 GMT 22 Apr 86 MB]/12766

INFLUX CONTROL END WELCOMED--There was widespread reaction to today's announcements in parliament. Urban black leaders, employers, and other interested persons have generally reacted positively. [Begin video] [Tom Boya, of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, in English] It is going to bring a lot of hope to a lot of people in this country. The scrapping of influx control will help people to move as they wish unrestricted. The only thing which the white paper did not address to--which I would have been very happy if this was addressed--the question of the Group Areas Act whereby people would be in a position also to move in wherever they wanted to without their color being regarded as important. And also this brings me now to the Population Registration Act which was addressed but not completely because the question of race is still going to remain. A white person is still going to be a white person by way of legislation. I would have been pleased if this was also scrapped completely. [Cedric Phatudi, chief minister of Lebowa, in English] I should like on behalf of our cabinet and the legislative assembly as well as the people, the black people generally, to congratulate the state president on these magnificent reform measures. A scrapping of the dompas [passbook] brings satisfaction to all the blacks throughout the country, and therefore it improves human relations in this country very very substantially. [end video] [Excerpts] [Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 23 Apr 86 MB]/12766

CROSSROADS MURDER CHARGES--Cape Town, April 16, SAPA--Fourteen people, including 5 leading activists from UDF-affiliated organizations in the New Crossroads area, appeared in the Athlone magistrates court yesterday on 12 charges of murder, alternatively culpable homicide. Today two more people appeared on the same charges. There were nine adults and they were each granted bail of

R100. The other seven, who were minors, were released into the custody of their parents. Mr Alfred Madlavu, 47, Mrs Mary Ngemntu, 45, Mrs Regina Ntongana, 47, Mrs Lillian Peter, 44, Mr Temba Nonjola, 19, Mrs Kholekile Sokani, 18, Mr Thozamile Kondile, 23, Mr Winston Tukashe, 20, Mrs Nomabango Mbeka, 18, and the seven minors are all of New Crossroads. The state alleges that on March 21 in New Crossroads, they killed Mr Jackson Mbindini, Mr John Palama, Mr Zzityele Mtsha, Mr Mzwandile Xeketwana, Mr Jack Mahlabedlu, Mr Zwelisha Matola, Mr Madoda Kuze, Mr James Nehlale, and Mr Venfolo Sitway. The charges are in connection with battles fought between residents of New Crossroads and vigilantes from Old Crossroads, in which seven people from Old Crossroads and two New Crossroads committee members have died. The hearing was adjourned to May 20. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0106 GMT 17 Apr 86 MB]/12766

CSO: 3400/1565

EGLIN COMMENTS ON VAN DER WALT REPORT

MB181023 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0949 GMT 18 Apr 86

[Text] House of Assembly, April 18, SAPA--Yesterday's van der Walt report on the crisis in black education in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984, was a "massive indictment of the government for having allowed the country to slide into conditions which made revolt against the authorities and the system they stood for inevitable," the leader of the official opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said today.

"It is perhaps the most severe and blunt indictment of government in the 38 years the National Party has been in power," he said in the state president's budget vote debate.

Professor Tjaart van der Walt's report pointed "to the direct link between education and socio-economic conditions, and politics and revolution."

"It is not without significance that September 3, 1984 was not only a black day for the people of the Vaal Triangle, but a black day for South Africa with the introduction of the tricameral system," Mr Eglin said.

The inevitability of conflict and human tragedy that went with it could be seen when one read of the legitimate grievances of the blacks, the appalling living conditions, the lack of effective political expression and the breakdown in communication with the authorities.

Professor van der Walt had said in his report that, humanly speaking, the entire crisis situation could have been prevented had there not been such an incomprehensible lack of sensitivity and communication, with alarm signals being disregarded, and with legitimate grievances falling on deaf ears.

"The real tragedy is that the bloodshed, the violence and the loss of life need not have occurred," Mr Eglin said.

Down the years the government had ignored warning from opposition in parliament and from black leaders outside.

The commission of inquiry, appointed in November 1984, must have submitted a draft report to the government by the end of that year--in which it recommended urgent steps be taken immediately to prevent further such crisis--but Professor van der Walt's report had only been tabled in parliament yesterday.

"The government has either done nothing or at best far too little...the reality is that the situation has got worse...we are locking ourselves into a spiral of revolution and violence," Mr Eglin said.

South Africa could not afford a government which carried on in this way and "this is why we say to the state president we are tired of words and speeches and go back and forth across Rubicons."

"We want to see action, bold fundamental restructuring action before it becomes too late for us to be able to live in peace."

Mr Eglin said Mr P.W. Botha had reiterated that he wanted the process of negotiating new constitutional structures to begin, and emphasized the PFP wanted the process of real negotiation to succeed.

If the proposed National Council was going to contribute to the success of this negotiation, the people who took part in its deliberations and decisions would have to be the genuine leaders of the communities they were supposed to represent.

"If the black members of the council are not representative of the broad cross section of our black fellow South Africans its activities will be an exercise in futility."

The PFP realized getting real negotiations on a truly representative basis would not be easy.

But if they were to get off the ground in a meaningful way, Mr P.W. Botha had to "make it clear his government is not locked into the concept that constitutional development can only take place within the framework of racially based structures founded on statutory race classification and compulsory group membership."

This also had to imply a willingness of government to have open-ended negotiations and a willingness to "consider abandoning the costly and divisive constitutional monstrosity known as own affairs," Mr Eglin said.

The government's commitment to this apartheid concept was damaging the whole process of constitutional development.

One had only to look at the local government level, where the introduction of regional services councils based on separate racial authorities was meeting massive resistance from blacks and increasing resistance from coloreds and Indians, who wanted full participation in local government on a non-racial basis.

Just as the issue of the vote for all South Africans had become non-negotiable, a constitution based on racial structures determined by compulsory race classification was no longer an option in any negotiated constitution.

"Apartheid is not an option for a future constitution for South Africa," Mr Eglin said.

Mr P.W. Botha should be willing to explore non-racial constitutional models.

Mr Eglin called on the state president to suspend the process of demarcating natal into a number of racially based local authorities and to the introduction of RSCS until the people of Kwazulu and that province had decided for themselves, at the "indaba," what form of local and regional government they wanted.

"If the national council is to get off the ground, the government should not continue introducing racially based second and third tier authorities until agreement has been reached through genuine negotiation with all concerned," he said.

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CSO: 3400/1569

REACTION TO 10-YEAR EDUCATION PLAN REPORTED

MB181317 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 18 Apr 86

[Text] The director of public relations of the Department of Education and Training [DET], Mr Job Schoeman, has welcomed the announcement by the Minister of National Education, Mr F.W. de Klerk, that the government intends introducing a 10-year plan for equal education. Mr Schoeman said in Pretoria that the plan would give impetus to projects being undertaken by his department. He added that if equal education were to be achieved urgent attention will have to be paid to the large-scale training of teachers.

The president of the South African Teachers Union in the Cape Province, Mr J.T. Kritzinger, has welcomed the plan to upgrade education. He said in Port Elizabeth that the plan in terms of which the total budget for education for the next 10 years has been raised from 6,800 million rand to 10,000 million rand was realistic and logical. Mr Kritzinger said it was time that parents realized that the government could not carry the cost of education alone, and that each parent had to make a contribution towards it.

The president of the Cape Teachers Professional Association, Mr Franklin Sonn, said although he welcomed the progress in the education system he had reservations about the 10-year period which he considered to be too long.

The rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, also rejected the 10-year period and said constructive steps should be taken immediately.

The president of the Natal African Teachers Union, Professor A.J. (Tembila), said in his reaction that he welcomed all projects aimed at improving educational opportunities for all. Professor (Tembila) said he hoped that parents, teachers, and pupils would be involved in the plan.

The Lebowa Minister of Education, Mr S.P. (Qwaqwa), welcomed the announcement and appealed to Mr de Klerk to introduce the plan as soon as possible. He hopes that the unrest in the country would not hinder the practical implementation of the project.

The chairman of the Educational Council for Education and Training in South Africa, Professor M.E.R. (Mathiba), says the project is not desirable in terms

of equal education although what he termed the same education structures could benefit from it. Professor (Mathiba) appealed once again for a uniform education system for the country.

Earlier Mr de Klerk announced that the government is to introduce a 10-year plan to achieve equal education in the shortest possible time. The plan provides for an annual expenditure increase of 4.1 percent allied to the expected growth in the economy. Mr de Klerk said the additional funds would be used for improving the education qualifications of teachers, to improve the ratio of teachers to pupils and to provide for the expected increase in the number of pupils.

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CSO: 3400/1569

LOUIS NEL DISCUSSES FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

MB211828 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1827 GMT 21 Apr 86

[Text] House of Assembly, April 21, SAPA--Foreign journalists were welcome in South Africa but they should not become part of the country's political process, involve themselves in unrest or become instruments of propaganda, the Deputy Minister for Information, Mr Louis Nel, said today.

Responding to debate on his portfolio's budget allocation, he said that although foreign journalists were welcome in South Africa, they did not have a right to be here.

"We are prepared to work with the overseas press on the basis of their freedom on condition they adhere to journalists ethics, some of which are written and some of which are not," Mr Nel said.

It was very important foreign journalists in South Africa adhered to these ethical codes, which were accepted all over the world.

It was unfortunate that some of the foreign media had however become part of the propaganda attack against South Africa and its people.

An example he related to the house concerned a recent overseas news agency report emanating from its Johannesburg bureau.

The report had been wrong and Mr Nel had asked the bureau chief for an explanation.

It had been found the original report sent from Johannesburg had been correct, but that it had been rewritten in New York before being sent out to the rest of the world.

Another example was an article in NEWSWEEK (April 14) which had reported the "white regime" in South Africa had banned outdoor meetings, including funerals, which were the "only real forum for black political expression."

It had furthermore been reported that police opened fire, killing 4 people, on a crowd of 10,000 black people who had defied the order.

Firstly, Mr Nel said, there was no "white regime" in South Africa; it would have been correct to say blacks had no direct representation in parliament, but the government was not only white.

It was also false to say funerals were the only real forum for blacks' political expression and unprofessional to mention nothing of the provocation before police had opened fire in the incident reported.

This type of NEWSWEEK article, which appeared regularly, was "untrue, a falsehood...we don't deserve it, South Africa and its people," Mr Nel said.

The article he referred to had been written "by a Nancy Cooper in New York, with Richard Manning in Johannesburg."

Mr Nel said he had met and knew Manning as a person "prepared to report objectively."

The problem was that the Johannesburg NEWSWEEK reporter was not in control of the final report as it was published.

Mr Nel said he had been approached by senior NEWSWEEK representatives--while he was in the United States last October--who wanted to lodge their objections at the deportation last year of the magazine's former Johannesburg representative, Ray Wilkinson.

They had told him they wanted to make it clear NEWSWEEK's position was that its news reporters should be allowed to report freely from South Africa on facts and developments "as they see it and bearing in mind public opinion in America."

Mr Nel said this "journalistically, unprofessional approach was unacceptable to South Africa.

"Foreign journalists are welcome on the basis that we accept we have problems in the country and that they treat us reasonably and decently and according to the international codes (of journalism)," he said.

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CSO: 3400/1569

CAPE TIMES BARRED FROM SPEAKING TO POLICE

MB220555 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2140 GMT 21 Apr 86

[Text] Cape Town, April 21, SAPA--The commissioner of police, General Johann Coetzee, has barred the CAPE TIMES from speaking to any police liaison officer.

General Coetzee's ban, which applies only to the CAPE TIMES, follows an appeal by the newspaper Press Union (NPU) on behalf of crime reporter, Chris Bateman, from the daily police crime conference for the media.

Mr Bateman was told he was "no longer welcome" at the crime conference after he reported on a shoot-out in Guguletu in which police killed seven alleged terrorists on March 3 this year. Police cited the reason for his barring as being that he did not possess special police accreditation, which entitles reporters to confidential background information.

Police have launched a Section 27 (1)b Police Act investigation into Mr Bateman's report after first serving him with a Section 205 subpoena to supply them with the names of witnesses quoted in the report.

Mr Bateman supplied the police with the names after first obtaining the witnesses permission to do so and obtaining supporting affidavits.

About a month after Mr Bateman was barred from the crime conference, the CAPE TIMES was told that no reporters from the paper were allowed to obtain comment or information on routine crime stories from the police liaison officers nor official news of police activities, comment on unrest situations, confirmation or denial of detentions and arrests, and comment on allegations against the police.

While reporters on the CAPE TIMES possess ordinary press cards in terms of the NPU-police agreement and signed by the commissioner, none at present have the "special" police accreditation which is opposed by the South African Society of Journalists.

In a letter to Mr Heard, General Coetzee said it appeared that the CAPE TIMES was not prepared "to change its biased and slanderous attitude towards the South African Police."

"My request, in order not to offend anybody, is that until this issue has been resolved to the satisfaction of both parties, journalists from the CAPE TIMES refrain from utilizing our liaison facilities," General Coetzee concludes.

The letter was received by Mr Heard almost 3 weeks ago, but the CAPE TIMES held back release of its contents while senior NPU representatives attempted to obtain a reversal of the ban.

The special accreditation card--marked with the police colors of blue and gold--gains senior journalists access to confidential, off-the-record information from senior officers.

The NPU agreement lays down guidelines for contact between the press and the police, and includes provisions that the police will be given opportunities to reply to allegations leveled against them.

THE CAPE TIMES said tonight it continued to provide readers with a full crime service "although reporters who contact police liaison officers on relevant matters are consistently referred to General Coetzee's letter and denied further comment."

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LSM: 3404/1568

ECC REACTS TO WHITE PAPER ON DEFENSE

MB221839 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1832 GMT 22 Apr 86

[Text] Johannesburg, April 22, SAPA--The defense white paper's call for increased efforts to counter the "anti-national service campaign" was a veiled and ignorant attack on the End Conscription Campaign [ECC], the organization said.

Responding to the defense white paper a statement issued today by the ECC national secretary, Mr David Shandler, said: "We take strong exception to the remark that increased efforts should be made to counter the anti-national service campaign.

"This is clearly a veiled and ignorant attack on the ECC.

"The ECC sees the submissions contained in the defense white paper as highly disappointing," the statement said.

"It is crude and misinformed in implying that the ECC is opposed to national service."

This was not true, the ECC said.

"ECC exists to work towards an end to conscription.

"We are in fact in favor of people performing a genuine national service, but this we believe should not happen through forced military service."

There were many constructive ways of serving the community.

"Being conscripted into the SADF (South African Defense Force) and thus siding with apartheid is not one," the ECC said.

"Many groups ranging from the ECC, to church and political groups made submission to end conscription to the SADF Geldenhuys committee, the recommendations of which are contained in the white paper.

"For these groups the new proposals go no way towards meeting popular demands to end conscription, or at the very least to broaden the scope for conscientious objection, and to stop making use of the SADF as an occupying force in South Africa's townships.

"These popular demands have been completely ignored by the authorities.

"We are presented in the white paper with a document that tinkers with the day to day workings of the SADF while ignoring to address the fact that it is playing a fundamental role in upholding apartheid.

"This is a crucial issue to confront and an omission such as that in this paper is dangerous and frightening in the extreme.

"It does nothing to bring the day forward when the SADF ceases to function as the armed defense of apartheid."

"The implication that there is to be further troop deployment in the townships is abhorrent," the ECC said.

"Regardless of the racial make-up of the SADF, it will continue to be seen as an enemy by township residents for as long as it continues to defend apartheid."

To call, as the white paper did, for more black SADF members was highly insensitive, particularly in the light of the current conflict in the country, the ECC said.

"The commitment by the state to conscripting coloreds and Indians in principle is worrying.

"This will increase divisions between our people."

The suggestion that the current situation regarding conscription and conscientious objection be maintained was of particular importance to the organization.

"The proposals display an arrogant disregard for what is a growing and sincere movement to end compulsory military service in the SADF.

"To claim as the document does that extending the provisions for conscientious objection would result in the SADF being reduced in efficiency and would encourage an attempt against national service is a clear admission on the part of the authorities that there exists a widespread resistance to conscription.

"Clearly it is only conscription and the threat of punitive measures which ensures that the SADF has sufficient personnel."

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CSO: 3400/1568

REPORTAGE ON ABOLITION OF INFLUX CONTROL

Justice Minister Comments

MB231140 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1134 GMT 23 Apr 86

[Text] Cape Town, April 23, SAPA--The scrapping of the influx control measures and release of pass law offenders would have an insignificant effect on prison accommodation and court prosecutions, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said today.

In a statement he said the number of offenders being held in prison under the influx control and pass laws were 245 on March 31 this year. These were sentenced, or awaiting-trial prisoners but did not include those held in police cells.

The offenders who were to be released were being held under the provisions relating to the 72 hour restriction, failure to produce reference books, idle and undesirable persons and people without permits.

He said the total number of prisoners in custody on March 31 totaled 113,482. This showed that the repeal of the influx control provisions and the pass laws would have an insignificant effect on prison accommodation and court procedures.

After completion of the release the exact number of prisoners released would be ascertained and made public. This would take a few days.

Mr Coetsee said the only significant numbers of other prisoners being held under influx related offenses were 915. These were foreigners and the vast majority were from neighboring states that did not include the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states.

They were being held for offenses relating to unofficial entry into the country which did not fall under the pass law or influx control measures being scrapped.

He said the release of prisoners had begun today and the South African police were cooperating with the prisons department in the release of those held in police cells.

The attorneys-general of the provinces had identified those who had been charged and detained under the measures and withdrawn the charges so that they could be released. They also instructed that no further prosecutions under the laws be made.

There would be no further prosecutions for contraventions under the Blacks (urban areas) Consolidation Act and under the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act.

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CSO: 3400/1568

Commentary Assesses Effects

MB220636 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0545 GMT 22 Apr 86

[Station Commentary]

[Text] The lives of virtually all black South Africans will change drastically from tomorrow when, for all practical purposes, the hated pass laws will disappear after having been on the statute book for almost a century. But the abolition of the reference book system, as the main influx control measure, is only one aspect of a new urbanization strategy contained in a white paper due to be tabled in parliament tomorrow.

The third component of this particular reform initiative is the introduction of a single identity document for all South Africans, irrespective of race or color, for which legislation is also to be tabled in parliament this week.

Together, these steps represent the most dramatic review, since union, of this country's racial laws. With his announcement last Friday that from tomorrow no one would be arrested in terms of the pass laws, that there would be no further prosecutions and that awaiting trial prisoners under these laws would be freed, the state president has discharged his undertaking earlier this year that the pass laws would be abolished by the 1st of July.

The time limit for this reform step--the abolition of certainly the most hated laws in the country's history--has in fact been beaten by 10 weeks it is without doubt an illustration of the seriousness with which the speedy implementation of reform initiatives is regarded.

All indications are that the white paper on urbanization will be based largely on the findings and recommendations of the constitutional affairs committee of the President's Council, which published its report in September last year. The committee was greatly concerned by the fact that between 200,000 and 300,000 people were arrested annually for influx control offenses. This induced contempt for the relevant act and for the authorities, and the degrading of human dignity inherent in the process could not be justified.

Influx control measures as applied at present, the committee found, were discriminatory, in conflict with basic human rights, and severely damaging to relations between blacks and whites. They also had a severe detrimental effect on the quality of life of blacks and had not achieved their objectives.

It was this fact in particular--that blacks were flocking to the urban areas to earn a living--that had to be addressed. This found expression among other things, in the recognition of the permanence of urban blacks, through granting of full property rights to black city dwellers, the suspension of forced removals, the abolition of job reservation, the establishment of free trade areas, and the desegregation of hotels, restaurants and other facilities.

What happened in practice under the old dispensation was that influx control as an ideological measure simply did not work: The stream of blacks to the cities continued despite these restrictions. But, because it was official policy to turn this tide away from the urban areas, insufficient funds were granted to provide for the reality of urban growth, and black urban development was both opposed and retarded.

The result was very real, but unordered urbanization, with all its attendant ills--slums, squatting, a lack of infrastructure and amenities, and unsanitary living conditions. What is now envisaged in its place, is orderly, planned urbanization: A concerted effort to meet the reality in a well-planned and systematic manner, instead of building ineffective ideological walls around our cities.

How this is to be done, needs to be spelled out in the white paper.

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CSO: 3400/1569

BRIEFS

COLORED, INDIAN CONSCRIPTION DENIED SUPPORT--Colored parliamentary leader Allan Hendrickse says he will not support the government plan to extend military conscription to Indians and coloreds. At present, only whites are called up. Mr Hendrickse says he will oppose any scheme to broaden conscription until South Africa has a truly free society. [Begin Hendrickse recording] We have stated emphatically to our electorate before the elections that we will not support conscription until such time that South Africa is a completely open society in which all members of all communities participate in decision making at all levels. In other words, the extension of the right to make decisions for the whole country, in other words, again in other words, that the national interest is represented by all people. Until such time, we are not prepared to support conscription. [end recording] [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 22 Apr 86 MB]/12766

LABOR PARTY MP'S SPEAK ON EDUCATION--House of Representatives, April 22, SAPA--The overseas pressure for disinvestment was being initiated by educational institutions because of the poor image of South Africa's education system, Mr Johnny Johnson (LP [Labor Party] Esselen Park) said today. Speaking in the national education vote of the budget he said the South African education system appeared to have been devised to ensure that whites maintained domination over other groups. There was however a shift away from this type of thinking taking place in the National Party and those members with new ideas on education should be represented on the standing committee on education. He said a more productive education system should be devised which would have a single certificate for all South Africans. Mr Glen Carelse (LP Bergrivier) said if all schools were opened the radical elements would no longer have any weight behind their demands. A large portion of urban whites and all non-whites supported mixed schools and a unitary education system. It seemed that only a handful of whites, including the Minister of National Education, Mr F.W. de Klerk, did not agree with this. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1549 GMT 22 Apr 86 MB]/12766

URBAN SECTOR COUNCIL WELCOMES WHITE PAPER--The Urban Sector Council on Urbanization has welcomed the government's white paper. The council's membership includes the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut, [Afrikaans Trade Institute], the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, the Federated Chambers of Industries, the Urban Foundation, and several prominent

members of society. The council says the implementation of the recommendations will bring about the most important changes in South Africa since the labor legislation in the 1970's. [Begin Jan Steyn of Urban Sector Council video] This white paper and especially annexure A to it, which contains the list of acts that are abolished, bring about the final and irrevocable demise of influx control in South Africa. One of the most important pillars of apartheid, if you will, has been finally removed. The white paper commits itself to a policy of nondiscriminatory management of urbanization. We have scrutinized the white paper and the legislative enactments that are delegislated and we are satisfied that there are no hidden legal mechanisms through which an alternative method on control can be imposed on the mobility of black South Africans. [end video] [Text] [Johannesburg Television Service in English 1545 GMT 23 Apr 86 MB]/12766

'ONSLAUGHT' AGAINST SADF--Parliament, April 22, SAPA--The onslaught on South Africa by foreign radio stations had increased by "about 50 percent" since 1984 "with an accompanying higher degree of negativeness," according to a government white paper on defense tabled in parliament. Countries including the USSR, Ethiopia and the German Democratic Republic had continuously broadcast propaganda to the republic, while a "higher degree of hostility" had been noticed from Western transmitters. The SA Defense Force had been one of the main targets of this radio propaganda and broadcasts had focused on accusations of "so-called aggression against neighboring states, so-called destabilization and so-called support of resistance movements." "The role of the SA Defense Force in containing internal unrest also figured strongly in recent broadcasts and a smear campaign is being conducted concerning atrocities against the local population." Certain local and overseas media were "consciously or subconsciously, involved in the unrest situation." Alternative media in particular were used to "promote the revolutionary onslaught, discredit the RSA internationally and develop the perception with the international community that the government has lost control of the internal situation." [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1000 GMT 22 Apr 86 MB]/12766

MONITORING COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED--Johannesburg, April 18, SAPA--The South African Media Council established a monitoring committee yesterday to investigate matters connected with the behavior and reputation of the country's media. The committee was established at the request of the council's management committee in Johannesburg. The monitoring committee will, on its own initiative, investigate matters of public interest connected with the good behavior and reputation of the South African media. Members of the committee will put matters of importance before it and will address concerns brought to their attention by the media council. The board consists of 14 representatives of the public, 14 representatives of the media and 2 retired judges who will act as chairman and alternate chairman. The chairman of the monitoring committee is a former judge, Mr Justice Louis van Winsen. The public is represented by Professor S.P. Olivier, former rector of the University of Durban/Westville; Professor Theo van Wijk, rector of the University of South Africa; Mr Peter Sorour, of the Urban Foundation; Mrs Marie van Olst of the South African Consumer Council; and Mr M.B. Khumalo, a lecturer at Vista University. The media is represented by Mr Piet Gouws of BEELD; Mr Harold Papendorf and Mr Hennie Kotze, both of DIE VADERLAND; Mr Tertius Myburgh, of the SUNDAY TIMES; and Miss Isabella Krause of the KLERKSDORP RECORD. The committee will meet when matters affecting its brief arise. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0845 GMT 18 Apr 86 MB]/12766

FOREIGN BANKS 'PREPARED TO EXTEND LOANS'

MB170817 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2229 GMT 16 Apr 86

[Text] Johannesburg, Apr 16, SAPA--Focusing on the South African debt repayment, quite a number of foreign banks have indicated that they would be prepared to extend their loans to South Africa.

Several Swiss institutions and an Italian bank are willing to roll over the 5 percent of maturing debt repayment, say London banking sources.

Banking circles have it that one third of the 330 creditors are in favor of SA's final terms of repayment.

Commenting on the current debt situation, Trust Bank said that it is now obvious that considerably less than \$20 million have left the country.

"Frozen loans, if left in South Africa will earn an attractive return of between 0.5 percent and 0.75 percent over the London interbank offered rate," comments Trust Bank's economist Annamarie Alberts.

"The fact that some commercial banks agreed to roll over funds due for this week's repayment indicates some slight improvement in sentiments towards South Africa."

South Africa, which imports about 50 percent of its liquid fuel, could benefit substantially from the recent slump in oil prices, according to the bank's weekly rand report.

"This could mean a higher surplus on the current account and more scope for domestic growth."

Inflation as measured by the PPI (Producer Price Index) slowed to 20.78 percent in February compared to 22.21 percent in January this year, and 21.29 percent in December last year.

The monthly increase was only 1.62 percent compared to 2.01 percent in January.

A year ago the producer price index was 14.89 percent.

The rand remained above 0.49 U.S. cents amid indications that ample provision had been made for the overseas debt repayment and that the total amount being repaid this week was less than initially anticipated.

Uncertainty over the movements in the dollar and gold price following the U.S. strike against Libya had little impact.

The gold price is underpinned by the continued U.S.-Libyan conflict.

The bank expects the rand to remain stable and to strengthen to around the 0.50 U.S. cents level in coming weeks.

Money market rates remained at their recent lower levels.

This morning's fix for the key 90-day liquid BA rate was 11.50 percent for the fourth consecutive day.

The market shortage was slightly higher at R1.16 billion compared to R1.13 billion on Monday, but well down from last week's R1.26 billion shortage.

The market is awaiting the expected cut in the prime lending rates and reserve bank rediscount rates.

Capital market yields moved further downward from last week's levels. The RSA 13 percent 2005 traded at 17.32 percent and the ESCOM 11 percent 2009 stood at 18.15 percent in the early morning compared to last week's 17.38 percent and 18.24 percent respectively.

The capital market is currently influenced by the uncertainty over the direction of the dollar and gold price.

Deposit rates (percentage): call 11.50 60 days, 11.50 32 days; 11.25 88 days; 11.50 prime 15.50. [sentence as received]

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CSO: 3400/1570

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

FAVORABLE TRADE BALANCE RECORDED--Pretoria, April 23, SAPA--South Africa recorded a favorable trade balance of R2450.3 million for the first 3 months of 1986, according to figures released in Pretoria today. Preliminary statistics from the Department of Customs and Excise show that exports totaled R9242.8 million and imports R6792.5 million. The import and export figures have been adjusted to bring them into line with the requirements for the compilation of the balance of payments. A breakdown of the world trading zones show that Europe remained South Africa's largest trading partner. Exports totaled R2418.0 million, compared with R2076.8 million in the same period last year, while imports stood at R2663.7 million (R2544.7 million). Asia was South Africa's second largest export earner with a total of R1370.1 million (R1272.5 million). These were followed by America with R858.6 million (R796.0 million), Africa with R410.5 million (R277.6 million), and Oceania with R95.3 million (R51.1 million). After Europe, Asian imports rated second with R946.0 million (R784.2 million). America was next with R766.4 million (R1045.3 million), followed by Africa R140.5 million (R106.6 million), and Oceania R54.7 million (R89.9 million). Other unclassified goods and balance of payments adjustments totaled R4073.0 million for exports (R3640.9 million), and R2221.2 million for imports (R961.8 million). Ships and aircraft stores amounted to R17.3 million (R10.5 million). [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1354 GMT 23 Apr 86 MB]/12766

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